

THE SIRAIKI LANGUAGE OF CENTRAL PAKISTAN

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR

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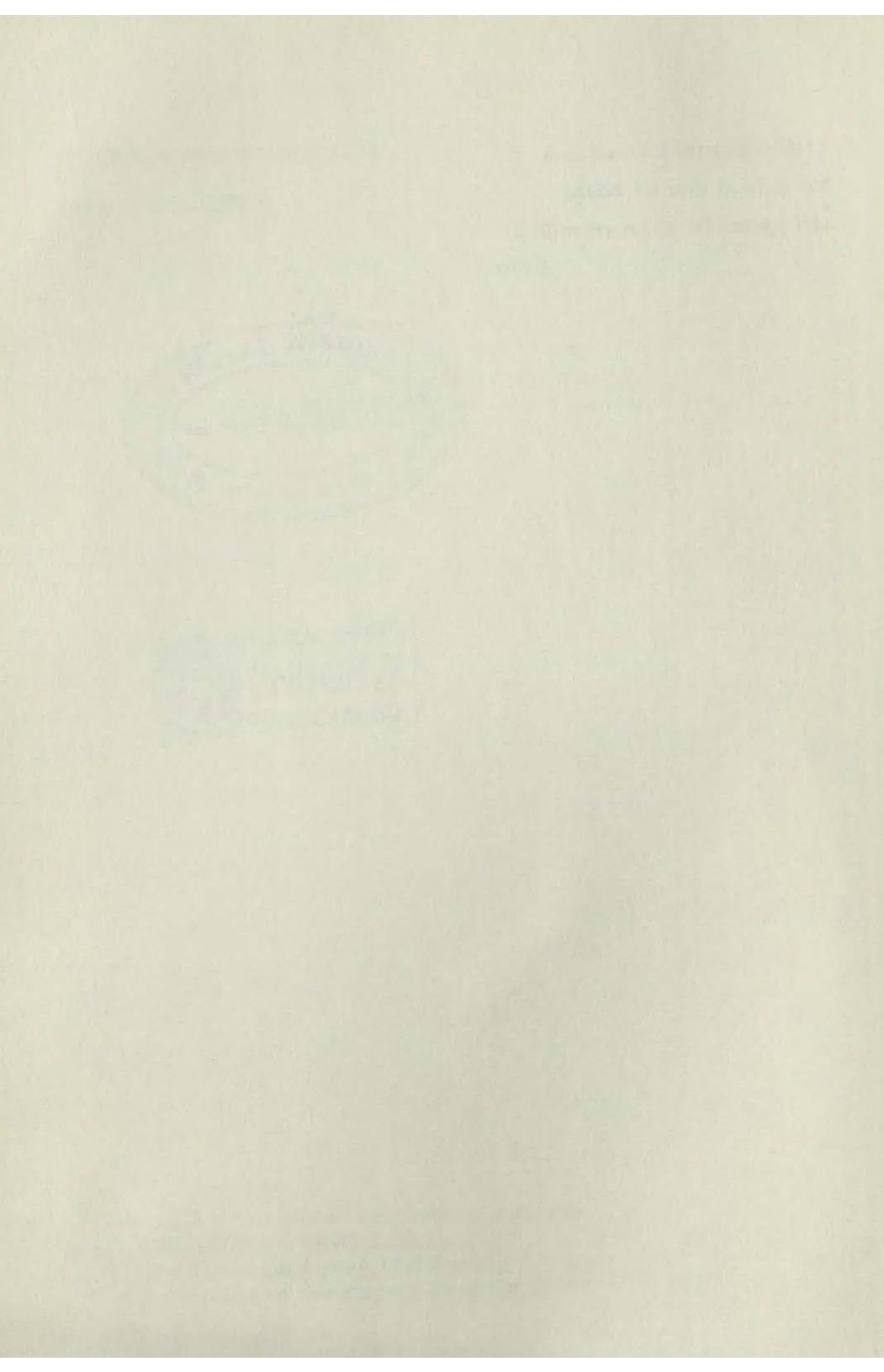


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/ʌlɪf hɪkə hɪm bəs ve miā ji
hor kɪhaṇi mul nə bhaṇi
ʌlɪf gyom dɪl khəs ve miā ji/

F170



PREFACE

The present work first developed while I was engaged in the study of Siraiki Sufi poetry, and an outline grammar compiled from secondary sources was included in my Ph.D. thesis, submitted to the University of London in 1972. The field-work necessary to proceed further with the subject was undertaken on study-leave from the School of Oriental and African Studies in the period January-April 1974, when I was able to spend time in the major centres of the Siraiki-speaking area in Pakistan: this was supplemented by a brief return visit in March 1975.

A scholarly project of this kind, extending over several years, has obviously involved seeking assistance from many other people. Several colleagues at the School have been generous with their time and expertise, while my particular thanks are due to Professor J. C. Wright, both for his supervision of my thesis and for his subsequent help and encouragement.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Publications Committee of the School for meeting the full cost of publication of this book.

In Pakistan so many people gave freely of their time and assistance that it would be impossible to thank them all individually. I should however like to mention the particular kindness of Mr. Ilyas Ishqie, formerly Regional Director, Radio Multan, and of Mr. Khan Rizwani, Multan correspondent of *Daily Jang*: to thank Seth Obeidur Rahman and the Siraiki Adabi Majlis, Bahawalpur, and Mr. Ghulam Rabbani and the Sindi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, for their hospitality and their gifts of indispensable books and permission to quote from these: and to thank Mr. Barda Sindhi for his patient answers to my inquiries. I am grateful to Mr. Umar Kamal Khan of Multan for arranging the calligraphy to be done for the table on p. 41.

My thanks are due above all to Dr. Mahar Abdul Haq of Multan, without whose invaluable guidance this work could never have achieved its present form, and without whose friendly reception, which went far beyond that which could be expected by a fellow-Ph.D. in Siraiki, my field-trips would have been so much less rewarding and enjoyable.

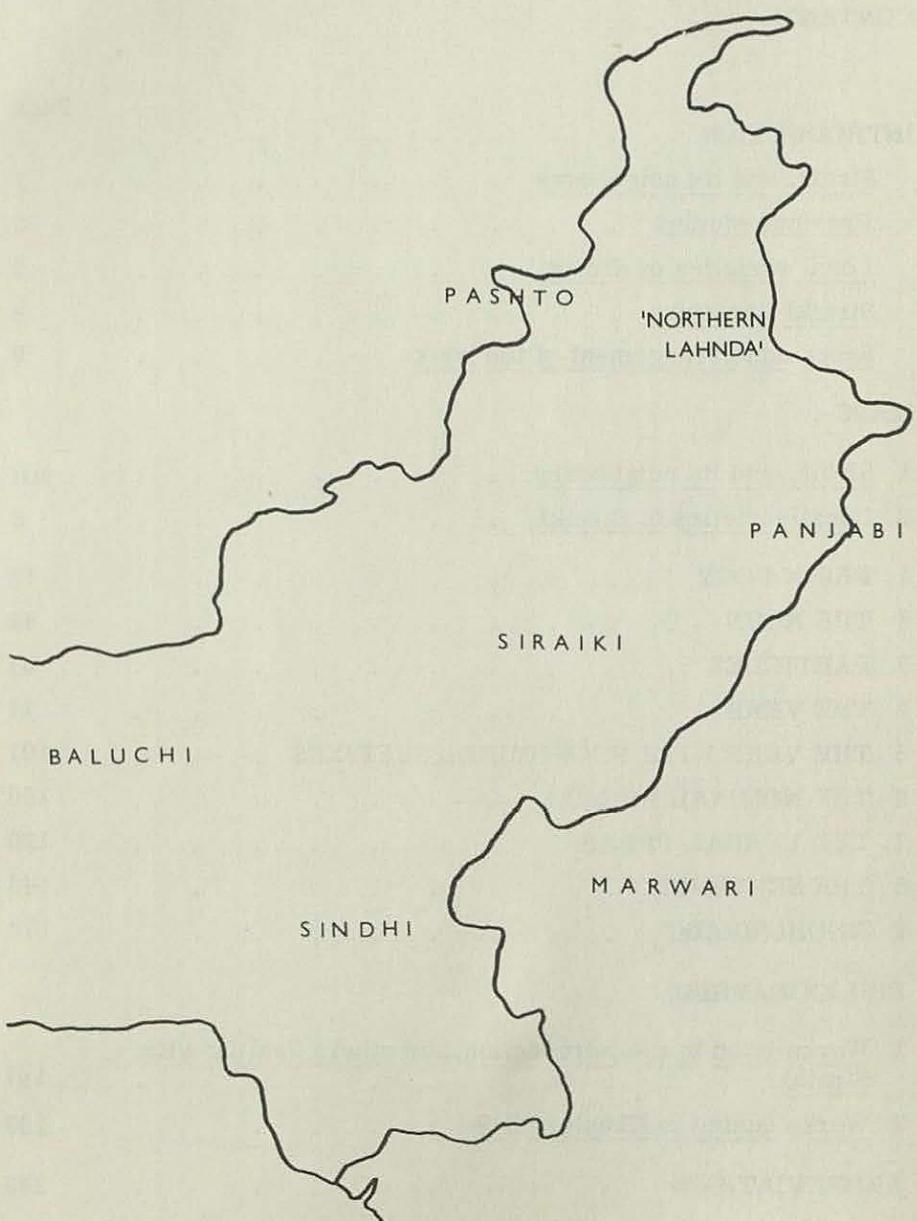
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MAP 1

Siraiki and its neighbours

INTRODUCTION

As its title indicates, this book contains a descriptive account of Siraiki, the Indo-Aryan speech of a large part of central Pakistan, which may be more familiar to some readers under the names of 'Multani', 'Southern Lahnda', or even 'Western Panjabi'.

The language is described from the viewpoint of a South Asianist rather than of a general linguist, and the book is primarily addressed to the needs of a similar audience. The terms in which the description is conducted are thus largely traditional, in order to facilitate comparisons. Since the author's linguistic interests lie chiefly in the field of sociolinguistics, an effort has been made to define as far as possible, both generally in this introduction as well as at specific points in the body of the work, the social background of the language being described. Particular attention is also paid to the multilingual environment in which Siraiki is used. Some of the distortions common in many accounts of the less standardized regional languages of South Asia as if they were homogeneous standards of the Urdu or Hindi type will, it is hoped, therefore be avoided.

Siraiki and its neighbours

The Pakistan Census has never taken separate account of Siraiki. It is therefore impossible to estimate accurately the number of speakers, but they probably number at least 15,000,000.

The Siraiki-speaking area lies in the central part of Pakistan, on either side of the Indus from approximately 28°N to 33°N, and including the lower reaches of the Chenab and Sutlej: this corresponds to the south-western part of Panjab province and the adjacent areas.

The position of the area is indicated on Map 1 (facing), on which the neighbouring languages are also marked. It will be seen that Siraiki lies on the western edge of the Indo-Aryan language-area, the boundary with the Iranian Pashto and Baluchi being well defined by the Suleiman range. To the south-east the natural boundary of the Thar desert, now reinforced by the political frontier between Pakistan and India, separates Siraiki from the Marwari dialects of Rajasthan. Relationships between Siraiki and these three languages are not explored in the present work, although there are some obvious connexions in the Indo-Aryan direction, as in the case of the sigmatic future, shared by Siraiki with Marwari and Gujarati.

Somewhat less clearly marked are the boundaries with Sindhi, at the narrowing of the Indus valley between mountain and desert near the present provincial frontier between Panjab and Sind, and with the Northern Lahnda dialects, along the southern edge of the

Salt Range: while to the east there is no natural boundary whatsoever between Siraiki and Panjabi. From the viewpoint of historical comparison, Northern Lahnda and Panjabi are the languages most closely related to Siraiki, which also shares other features exclusively with Sindhi. Relationships between Siraiki and these neighbours therefore call for further comment, particularly those which involve direct contact and influence.

Not only is the natural boundary with Sindhi quite well marked and reinforced by a long-standing political frontier, but there are also many clearcut linguistic differences between the two. These divisions have, however, been partly blurred by the extensive migration of Siraiki-speaking groups, principally Baloch tribes, southwards into Sind from the 16thc. until the 19thc. As a result Siraiki is spoken by perhaps 25% of the population of Sind, nowadays usually bilingually with Sindhi.

It is this situation which gave rise to the term '*Sirāiki*', most plausibly explained as 'the language of the north' (< Sindhi *siro* 'up-river, north'). In recent years this term has come to be extensively adopted in the main Siraiki-speaking area, thus enabling one to dispense with the confusingly varied earlier terminology, including vague terms such as 'Jatki' or 'Hindki', local names such as 'Multani', the 'Derewal' of Dera Ghazi Khan or the 'Riyasati' of Bahawalpur, as well as philologists' inventions without any local currency like Grierson's 'Southern Lahnda'.

For the less homogeneous dialects to the north there is still no very satisfactory substitute for 'Northern Lahnda', although 'Pothohari' is somewhat misleadingly coming to be so used in Pakistan. While obviously close, the relationships between Siraiki and these northern dialects could only be more precisely defined after detailed work in the field, and will not be here enlarged upon, since no situation of direct contact or significant mutual influence prevails.

The relationship of Siraiki with Panjabi is the most complex of all. As a consequence of the absence of any natural boundary between the two language-areas, there are several intermediate dialects which contain features of both. Moreover, the situation was further confused by the transfer of populations during the Partition of 1947. The Siraiki-speaking Hindu minority was expelled to India: their language, which has a few distinctive features, will be considered only in passing. In their place came a large influx of Muslim refugees from eastern Panjab: their numbers are considerable, especially when added to those of the Muslim colonists from eastern districts attracted by the opening of large areas to cultivation by the extension of irrigation. The present situation in the central Siraiki area, with its large Panjabi-speaking population, is thus in some ways a mirror-image of that in Sind, where Siraiki-speakers are a large minority. In the cities and towns of the area, particularly, Siraiki is now exposed to major influence from Panjabi, just as it has long been to influence from Sindhi in Sind. It is in res-

ponse to this challenge from Panjabi that there has recently arisen a Siraiki language movement, which is described elsewhere (Shackle: 1977).¹

Lastly, Urdu has been for well over a century the official language of administration and education in the Panjab, as well as the chief vehicle for all types of writing. As the dominant standard of the area, it too has naturally exercised its influence, and it will be necessary to pay attention to this as well as to influences from Panjabi and Sindhi in the description of modern Siraiki.

Previous studies

The serious investigation of the language did not begin until the British conquest of the area, although there are scattered references in older sources and short Persian-Siraiki glossaries were compiled for educational purposes.

The first published account is that of Burton: 1849, which derives from his experience as an officer of the Sindh Survey. Aided by his knowledge of Sindhi, Burton provides a clear and comprehensive account of the Siraiki of Upper Sind, accurate in most details, although including large numbers of variant forms without local reference. As would be expected, his ethnological observations on the Siraiki-speaking groups in Sind are of considerable interest: his own concern with the language was apparently stimulated by a belief that the Gypsies originated from the area, but his intention to develop his article into a book remained unfortunately unfulfilled.

After Burton, the language was described from the background of experience in the Panjab. Brief accounts appeared at intervals in the Settlement Reports of the relevant Districts (1876-1894). More substantial is the account of O'Brien: 1881. Himself Settlement Officer of Muzaffargarh District and making use of notes collected by his colleague in Multan, O'Brien compiled a useful word-list, supplemented by a collection of rustic sayings and proverbs, and prefaced by a brief and ill-organized grammatical sketch.

The first missionary contribution was that of Bomford: 1895. C.M.S. representative in Multan, he provided a fairly comprehensive description of the language, although it is both prolix and somewhat haphazardly arranged. Bomford: 1897, while again confused in arrangement, has remained hitherto the fullest study of the Siraiki pronominal suffixes.

Fresh material was provided by another official, Wilson, in his grammar and glossary of the dialect of Shahpur which includes comparative material from other areas (Wilson: 1899). Handicapped only by a confusing vowel-notation that records sub-phonemic differences, this book is well organized, providing a clear outline of

¹ Full references for the works cited are provided in the Bibliography.

the grammar and of the main points of difference from central Panjabi.

Jukes: 1900 is the first full bilingual dictionary. Apart from the knowledge acquired during the course of his long residence as a C.M.S. missionary in Dera Ghazi Khan, Jukes drew upon the glossaries compiled by O'Brien and Wilson and was able to produce a very solid work. For the first time, the distinctive implosive consonants of Siraiki are systematically recorded. This dictionary, which is prefaced by a very brief grammatical note, remains an indispensable work of reference.

Another work which has remained standard hitherto is Wilson's revision of O'Brien's book (O'Brien: 1903). In this the glossary is re-arranged and a grammar on the pattern of Wilson's Shahpuri grammar is added. While otherwise substantially the same as the original, the revised version is of more practical use. It is the last book to have been written on the language in English.

It was upon the work of these amateurs that Grierson, the first serious philologist to direct his attention to the languages of the area, was able to begin the task of describing their genetic relationships. Grierson was first drawn to note similarities with Sindhi and Kashmiri by Bomford's work: in the same article (Grierson: 1895), he drew a distinction between the language of the western Panjab and that of the central and eastern districts, a distinction he elaborated further when he turned to the compilation of the relevant volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI: 1916, 1919). Briefly, Grierson distinguished Panjabi sharply from 'Lahnda', an invented term for the languages of the western Panjab. While the making of this distinction, previously only vaguely adumbrated, was valuable and important, Grierson's sub-division of 'Lahnda' has not found much acceptance: it is particularly unfortunate that he chose Shahpuri as his standard, doubtless having been misled into this false classification of what is in fact a peripheral dialect by the superior quality of Wilson's description. The descriptive material in the LSI is secondary in nature and not of much value.

By far the most valuable study of the language after the LSI is that of Bahl: 1936, the thesis of a Multani Hindu, which is devoted to the phonetic and historical analysis of the implosive consonants, whose incidence and distribution in the language are at last clearly defined. It is unfortunate that this work does not seem to have become widely known, probably due to its having been written in French.

Other subsequent work has been chiefly concerned with the modification of Grierson's awkward classification of the 'Lahnda' dialects. Both Varma: 1936 and Bahri: 1962, 1963 are concerned primarily with the northern dialects, but put forward trenchant criticisms of his overall classification. The theme is also taken up in Smirnov: 1970, in which a more reasonable re-ordering of the dialects is advanced: the bulk of the book is, however, basically a

further rendering (into Russian) of the secondary material of the LSI. Finally Rossi: 1974, while making some valid criticisms of Smirnov, is again hampered by reliance upon the same dated sources.

Writing in western languages has thus become rather fixed into an increasingly sterile debate about the internal classification of 'Lahnda': but for this debate to be meaningfully pursued, fresh data are needed. It is hoped that the present work will serve towards this end.

In India and Pakistan, too, not very much fresh material seems to have been produced, although much energy has been devoted to the interpretation of existing material for semi-political purposes. Panjabi writing in both countries minimizes differences from Panjabī, just as it seeks to maximize differences between Panjabī and Hindi or Urdu. Sindhi writing, on the other hand, tends to over-emphasize the closeness of Siraiki to Sindhi: but Advani: 1956 is interesting on the influence of Siraiki upon the northern dialect of Sindhi.

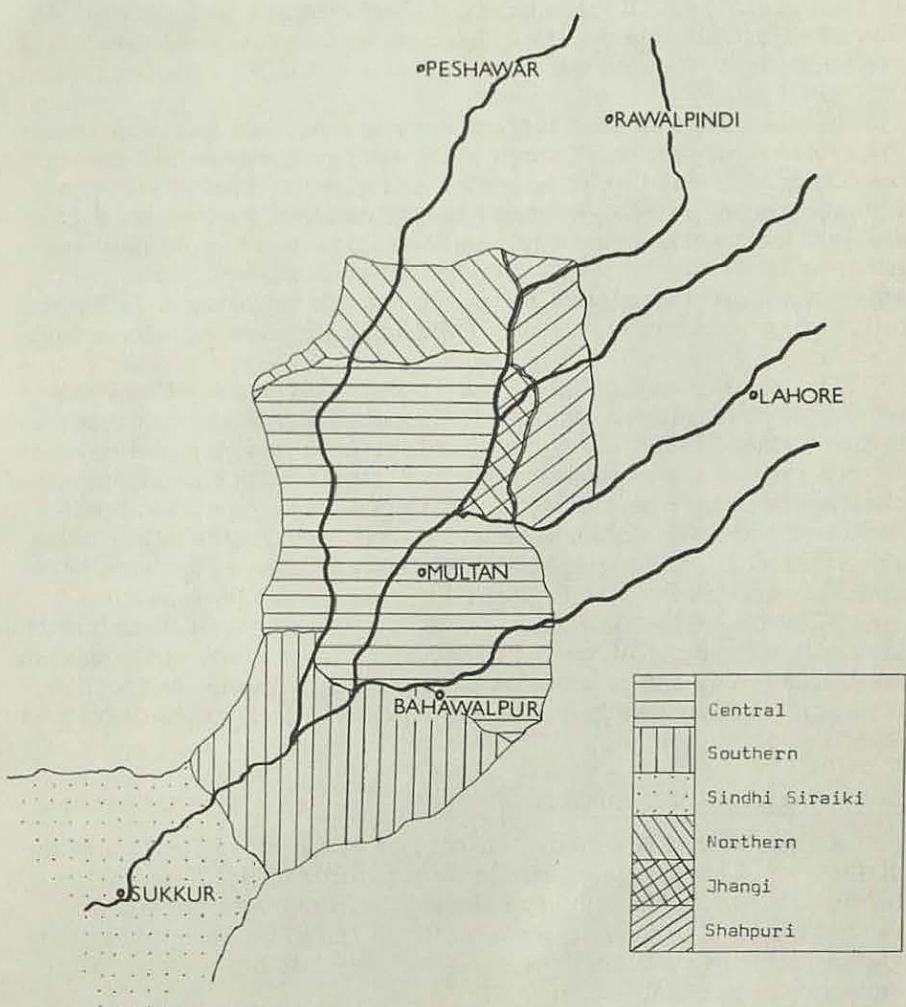
The writings of Siraiki-speakers themselves are often vitiated by excessively inflated claims for the language, as for example Ikramul Haq: 1963, or by a disregard for Indo-Aryan philology in the search for a more ancient pedigree. Some short grammatical sketches, designed as elementary primers, have appeared: these include Razi: 1933, Vahid: 1953 and Zami: 1964. A few other titles are noted in the Bibliography, while some articles of interest have also appeared in the Siraiki journals *Sirāikī Adab Multān* and *Sirāikī* (published in Bahawalpur). By far the most solid contribution is the Urdu study of Abdul Haq: 1967, in which a study of the earlier Muslim sources and of western writing is combined with fresh material in a way which, it is to be hoped, will be further developed locally.

Local varieties of Siraiki

As has been made clear, the subject of the classification of the dialects of 'Lahnda' is not one to be entered into lightly. A still further classification, albeit of the southern dialects only, is advanced here with some reluctance, tempered to be sure by the conviction that the systems previously advanced do not always fit the facts on the ground.

Our classification of the local varieties of Siraiki is shown in Map 2 (overleaf). These varieties are to be regarded as broad regional groupings of localized dialects and are differentiated on the basis of a few simple shibboleths. The areas indicated by shading on the map are provisional only: much more detailed field-work would be required for their outlines to conform precisely with configuration of geographically pin-pointed isoglosses. The mapping of geographical features has therefore been intentionally restricted to show only the rivers and principal cities.

Somewhat more precise indications as to the geographical dis-



MAP 2

Local varieties of Siraiki

tribution of the six varieties distinguished are given in the following account of their relative importance, which also notes the attention given to each in previous studies as well as that which will be accorded them here.

1) Central variety [abbreviated as C]

This covers the Districts of Multan and Muzaffargarh and the northern parts of Dera Ghazi Khan and Bahawalpur. This is the largest of the six areas, with the greatest Siraiki-speaking population, although it is also an area of major Panjabi-speaking immigration. The importance of this variety is further enhanced by having within its area the city of Multan, the principal urban centre of the entire region for at least a millennium. This variety is best known as 'Multani' and is so described in the LSI and by Smirnov.

2) Southern variety [abbreviated as S]

This includes Rahim Yar Khan District, the southern parts of Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan and the extreme southern tip of Muzaffargarh. This is a smaller area than that of C, also one poorer and more remote, hence less open to outside influence. There are some differences between the dialects on either bank of the Indus, but these are much less significant than the overall contrast of S with C. Although there are fewer speakers of S, it has had almost equal importance with C as a literary vehicle, partly due to its dominant position in the former princely state of Bahawalpur, merged with Pakistan in 1954 but still an area of deeply rooted local consciousness: the language of Bahawalpur city, on the border between C and S, reflects however a blending of forms.

S is not coherently described in the LSI and is neglected by Smirnov: due attention is here given to it for the first time in English. Our own account of Siraiki is based upon C, but detailed consideration is also given to S where this differs, since these two varieties predominate in writing and in educated speech. S differs from C in its closer realizations of some mid-front vowels, in having a distinctive case-morpheme for the oblique plural of nouns and pronouns, and in many minor features of the morphology of the verb, including the conjunctive participle, the second person singular tense-morpheme, and several forms of the present auxiliary and its contractions.

3) Sindhi Siraiki [abbreviated as SiS]

This is spoken all over Sind, especially in the north: the influence of Sindhi becomes increasingly marked towards the south, in proportion with the decreasing density of Siraiki speakers. Since SiS is a language of immigration, there is a considerable mixing of dialects, the speech of some groups being obviously closely based on C, others following S. SiS now functions chiefly as a home language and is normally used bilingually with Sindhi, but it was formerly a language

of considerable literary importance. SiS is briefly described, as 'Siraiki Hindki', in the LSI: the principal points of difference with C and S are here treated together in an outline account (Chapter 9).

The Siraiki spoken in Baluchistan, especially in Sibi and Kacbhi Districts, is not dealt with here.

4) Northern variety [abbreviated as N]

This area includes the Districts of Mianwali and of Dera Ismail Khan in N-WFP, a rather remote and underdeveloped region, whose language has not been culturally prominent. N appears to resemble C quite closely, but shares some features with the adjacent Northern Lahnda dialects, notably in the frequent rounding of post-tonic short vowels in disyllabic words: it has some extension further north as a lingua franca in the Pashto-speaking areas. N is briefly described in the LSI, following Wilson, as 'Thali', a term retained by Smirnov: only isolated forms of N are noted in our account.

5) Jhangi

Spoken over a large part of Jhang District, this variety shows some peculiar features of its own, especially in phonology (where the preference for implosives and the use of a true dental implosive are distinctive), as well as a mixture of forms characteristic of the surrounding areas. The LSI accords Jhangi very summary treatment, and here too it receives only passing mention.

6) Shahpuri

This is the language of Sargodha District and parts of Jhang and Lyallpur. While it shares some features with C, this variety would now be generally and correctly regarded as a variety of Panjabi with Siraiki features, and Grierson's description of it as 'the central (standard) dialect of Lahnda' is a quite misleading labelling of what is in fact an intermediate variety. Since Shahpuri has been well described (Wilson: 1899) and occupies a marginal position in relation to Siraiki proper, it does not receive further mention.

Siraiki literature

The principal literary language of the region was Persian until its replacement in the last century by Urdu in the Panjab and by Sindhi in Sind. Writing in the local languages long remained restricted to a few genres of poetry. Moreover, the language of the older texts from the Panjab, for which contemporary MSS are usually lacking, is for the most part clearly of mixed character, open to claims from present-day enthusiasts both for Panjabi and for Siraiki, but not properly to be reduced to either alternative. Mention may however be made of the *Śalok Farīd* incorporated in the *Adi Granth* (1604), whose language is examined in Shackle: 1977.

Only in the troubled political conditions of the 18thc., when the Mughal empire was split into rival independent states, does a clear

tradition of distinctively Siraiki writing emerge. This literature was until recently almost entirely in verse, the bulk of it devoted to Islamic themes. Three main centres of literary activity are to be distinguished.

In Upper Sind there was an early florescence of writing in Siraiki under the Siraiki-speaking Talpur Mirs. Particularly notable is the ecstatic mystical poetry of Sachal Sarmast of Khairpur (1739-1827), and the verbally brilliant humorous verse of Hammal Khan Leghari (d. 1879). The language of these and other poets, all of whom also wrote in Sindhi, is typically SiS, i.e., forms from both C and S are freely used and the influence of Sindhi is clearly discernible. In the present century the increasing emphasis on the use of Sindhi has not encouraged the use of Siraiki in Sind for either traditional or modern types of literature.

In Multan and the surrounding regions a tradition of Sufi writing persisted, though with decreasing vigour, throughout the 18thc. and 19thc., beginning with Ali Haidar (1690-1785). The most distinctive contribution from this region is however the Shiite elegy (*marsiya*): composed in a mixture of prose and verse, this is a genre for which Siraiki, typically C, is regarded as the appropriate language in other parts of the Panjab also.

Bahawalpur, separately administered as a princely state until 1954, was the home of a third parallel tradition, among whose works is the most popular Siraiki narrative poem, Lutf Ali's *Saifalnāma* (1781), adapted from a tale in The Thousand and One Nights. The dominant figure in this tradition is however that of Khwaja Ghulam Farid (1845-1901), the last great Sufi poet in the long tradition of mystical writing in the local languages of the Indus valley. His mystical hymns (*kāfi*), many of which relate closely to the life and scenery of the local desert areas, are the particular glory of the Siraiki literary heritage, and continue to exercise their influence upon subsequent poetry.

No remotely comparable figure has emerged in the years since the death of Khwaja Farid, whose poetical language is again a mixture of C and S. In recent years there has been a great expansion in the use of Siraiki in the Multan-Bahawalpur area, and the language is beginning to be used for a much wider range of purposes than hitherto, including creative prose fiction. Again, a mixture of C and S is to be found, with the latter predominating only in Bahawalpur.

Detailed histories of the literature are provided by Jampuri: 1969 and Haidari: 1971, while a more summary account in English is included in Shackle: 1972.

Scope and arrangement of the book

It will be apparent from what has been said so far about the position of the language that it would not be realistic to describe

Siraiki as if it were exactly like the substantially standardized norms of Hindi or Urdu, with their comprehensive written traditions. The purpose of this book is, nevertheless, to describe a 'standard' Siraiki, so far as this is possible, with the realization that the attempt must involve some rather arbitrary definitions.

The language here taken as 'standard' is that of careful educated speech, as used between male speakers in the cities. Informants were deliberately selected from this class, whose speech naturally corresponds very closely with the language of most modern prose writings. The standard described is in most respects adequate also as a description of the language of earlier Siraiki literature, except in so far as this is governed by poetic conventions. Even within this definition of a standard it is necessary to take account of local varieties, principally C and S (forms common to both being described where appropriate as CS), and of the influence of contact languages, whether Urdu (U) and Panjabi (P), or Sindhi (Si).

The standard described will in most respects cover the speech of many townswomen, although the strict observance of purdah in the cities of the region probably results in a greater conservatism in women's speech. But at least two varieties must be excluded from the standard as defined here: these are uneducated rustic speech, especially that of countrywomen, and the mixed language used as an urban lingua franca with non-Siraiki speakers. Both these varieties receive only passing mention, respectively as 'sub-standard' and as 'colloquial'.

In order to facilitate the comparison with Panjabi, the book has been arranged in a way broadly similar to that of the standard modern grammar of Gill and Gleason: 1969. The order of presentation is traditional, dealing first with phonology in Chapter 1, then with morphology in Chapters 2-5, Chapter 5 being devoted to the pronominal suffixes, which constitute one of the main points of interest of Siraiki within the Indo-Aryan context. The main account concludes with an analysis of the syntax of the phrase and sentence in Chapters 6-8, parts of which should be found relevant to the analysis of similar phenomena in other Indo-Aryan languages. Chapter 9 contains a brief account of the main differences of SiS from CS, which include some archaic features found also in older CS poetry.

A further section was originally planned to illustrate the many possible variations of style by the extensive quotation of samples with commentary: this would have permitted a more adequate examination of the different varieties of language. But in view of the constraints imposed by the economics of specialist academic publishing, this scheme has been reduced to the provision of a few short extracts at the end of Chapters 8 and 9.

All cross-references within the book are to chapter, paragraph and subparagraph. To help cross-reference, paragraph numbers have been printed at the top outside corner of each page. Bibliographies of the works cited in the Introduction and of those quoted

in the text are to be found at the end of the book, followed by a list of the principal abbreviations employed, and an index of paragraphs.

Phonemic transcription is between oblique strokes, except in tables. Alternative forms in free variation as denoted as /və thuhā ~ və thuā/. Alternatives from different local varieties appear as /C hise ~ S hese/. Sub-standard alternatives are written in round brackets as /rʌhak ~ (rʌhuk)/. Obsolete forms are in square brackets as /[hai] > hai/. Presumed historical forms are asterisked and in square brackets only as *[rʌhɪ] >/ræh/. | |

CHAPTER 1

PHONOLOGY

1.1 VOWELS

There are nine primary vowels in C:

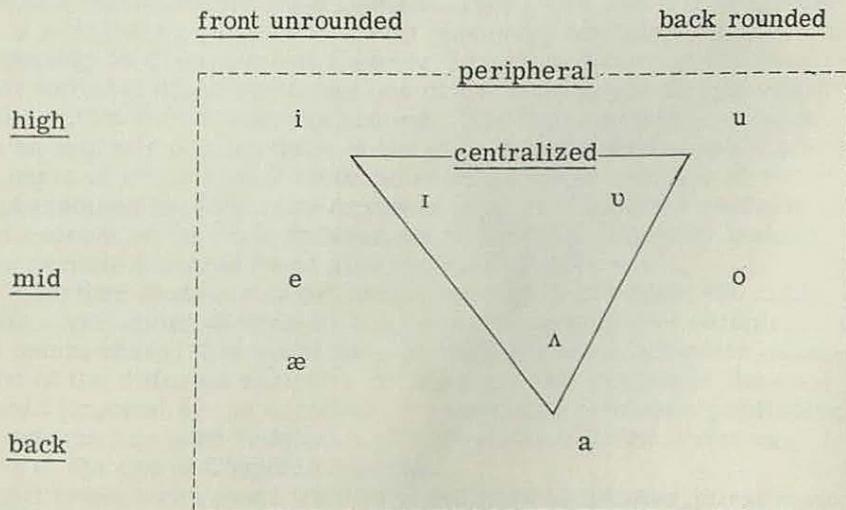
/ʌ a ɪ i e æ ʊ u ɒ/

Contrasts are illustrated by:

/mʌl/	'seize'	/mæl/	'goods'
/mɪl/	'meet'	/mil/	'mile'
/mel/	'small change'	/mæl/	'dirt'
/mul/	'price'	/mul/	'root'
/mol/	'head-pad'		

1.2 PHONETICS OF VOWELS

Phonetic relationships between the vowels in C are defined as:



The primary opposition is between the peripheral and the centralized vowels: only the former usually occur in word-final po-

sition. Centralized vowels are usually shorter in articulation than peripheral vowels, but the main contrast is of phonetic quality rather than quantity. Regular correspondences between these classes, viz. accented /a/ versus unaccented /ʌ/, /i e/ vs. /ɪ/, and /u o/ vs. /ʊ/, play an important part in the language, as exemplified by the formation of many abstract nouns:

/'a > ʌ/	/bal/	'child'	/bʌ'lʌkki/	'childhood'
/'e > i/	/bhen/	'sister'	/bhi'nʌppi/	'sisterhood'
/'o > u/	/'sonha/	'beautiful'	/su'nʌp/	'beauty'

These sets also demonstrate a secondary opposition between front rounded and back unrounded vowels. /æ/, lacking a back rounded counterpart, is the point of least stability within the system, and is liable to confusion with a diphthong, /æe/ (1.3.1, 1.4).

Realization of the vowels is very similar to that in adjacent languages: but accented /ʌ/ is markedly more open and low back than the centralized neutral vowel /ə/ of U P Si, and nearer to /a/. All vowels are somewhat reduced in quality in unaccented position, especially when pretonic: unaccented /ʌ/ is regularly realized as /ə/, an allophonic variation not recorded in this transcription. The quality of vowels is also affected by the articulation of adjacent consonants, especially retroflex sounds, which impart a dark quality to the vowel.

1.3 VOWEL SEQUENCES

Vowel sequences are very common. A large number of two-member patterns are possible:

	ʌ	a	i	ɪ	e	æ	ʊ	u	o
ʌ				ai	ae				ao
a			ia	ai	ae	aæ		au	ao
i	ɪʌ	ɪa	ɪɪ	ɪɪ	ɪe	ɪæ		ɪu	ɪo
ɪ	ɪʌ	ɪa			ie	iæ		iu	io
y		ya			ye		yu	yu	yo
e		ea					eu	eu	eo
ʊ		ʊa		vi	ve				
u	ʊʌ	ua		ui	ue	uæ			
o		oa	ɔɪ	oi	oe	oæ			

Sequences of peripheral + centralized vowel are unstable and liable to reduction. Such sequences are to be regarded as disyllabic:

/'biʌr/	'beer'	/'suər/	'pig'
/'ʃair/	'poet'	/'koɪnʌ/	'not'
/'geʊm/	'I went'		

1.3.1 Diphthongs

Other sequences may be treated as diphthongs. Sequences of identical vowels are normally avoided by the insertion of /v/ or by reduction: sequences of two low or two back vowels do not occur. /æ/ does not occur as the first member of a diphthong, nor as second member in S.

/y/ is used conventionally in this transcription to represent a weakened and centralized /e/, occurring only as the first member of rising diphthongs. This /y/ is never initial, whereas the true semi-vowel /y/ is initial only (1.7).

a) diphthongs beginning with low vowels

/mʌi/	'May'	/mai/	'mother'
-------	-------	-------	----------

The first element of /ai/ is more centralized than /a/, and the diphthong is very close to /ʌi/, especially since both are even diphthongs. In some common words the reduction of /ai/ to /ʌi/ is now standard, e.g., /[hai] > hʌi/ 'she was'. /ʌi/ also regularly represents a reduction of *[ei] and *[æi], e.g., /gea/ 'he went' but /gʌi/ 'she went', /ʃæ/ 'thing' but /ʃʌi/ 'things'.

/bʌ'næe/	'made'
C/bʌ'nææm/	'I made'

The first element in /ae æe/ is rather closer to /a/ than in /ai/. /æe/ in C is an allophone of the unstable simple vowel /æ/. /æe/ is written to the exclusion of /æe/ in this transcription, but the diphthongal realization is regular when such open monosyllables as /mæe/ 'I' occur in emphatic position (1.10): realization varies in other positions, the simple vowel predominating in unaccented position, in closed syllables, and as the second member of diphthongs.

/bʌ'næū/	'let us make'
/'nʌokʌr/	'servant'

The first element in /ao/ is very low, and the diphthong is in marked phonetic contrast with /ʌo/.

b) diphthongs beginning with front vowels

/'kutrā/	'bitches'	/'dhiā/	'daughters'
/'kutyā/	'dogs'	/'gea/	'went'

In all sets of diphthongs beginning with a front vowel, those beginning with a centralized vowel are rising, those with a peripheral vowel even or slightly falling: phonetic contrast is therefore strong. The contrast between /ia/ and /ya/, though phonetically weak, is well maintained, since it often has semantic importance, as in the pair of words cited.

/ia/ and /ea/ occur only in accented position. In monosyllables reduction in unemphatic position is common, hence /'dhiā d̥ia/ 'of the daughters', /'thi g̥ya/ 'he became': but finally in disyllables, the only other possible position, the quality is maintained, e.g., /bha'atra/ 'nephew', /m̥a'trea/ 'step-'.

/'t̥arbiʌt/ 'training'

S/'cʌniɪn/ 'they're good' /'pitri/ 'you've drunk'

These occur only in unaccented syllables: /iʌ/ occurs in loans, while /i i/ result from morphological contractions.

/'mʌrsie/ 'elegies' /bha'trie/ 'nephews'

/'m̥ilye/ 'they met'

C/'cʌnraen/ 'they're good' C/'dhiæn/ 'they're daughters'

/ye/ represents both *[ee] and *[yæ] in morphological contractions: the first element is very weakly realized in this rising diphthong, and will often be dropped in fast speech where it is recorded in transcription.

/'akhyum/ 'I said'

The second element is lowered almost to /ɔ/ by some speakers. /yu/ is more even than other diphthongs beginning with /y/, and is the only common diphthong consisting of two centralized vowels. It always occurs in unaccented position, corresponding to accented /eu/, as in /'geum/ 'I went'.

/'vʌstrū/ 'from the village' /'piu/ 'let us drink'

/'khʌbyū/ 'from the left' /'deu/ 'let us give'

/'ghorio/ 'o mares!' /'pio/ 'drink!'

/'ghoryo/ 'o horses!' /'deo/ 'give!'

The diphthongs beginning with peripheral vowels are always in accented position, those beginning with centralized vowels usually in unaccented position, but a few monosyllables contrast, e.g., rising /'pri/ 'father' vs. even /'siu/ 'river-water'. Rising /yo/ alternates with falling /eu/ in /'gyom ~ 'geum/ 'I went', and similar mono-syllables.

1.3.1

c) diphthongs beginning with back rounded vowels

/'dua/	'prayer'	/'buə/	'aunt'
		/cʌ'r̩oa/	'washerman'

/ua/ is markedly rising, in strong phonetic contrast with /uə/, which is falling.

/'kui/	'someone'	/'sui/	'needle'
		/cʌ'r̩oi/	'washerwoman'

/ui/ is in strong contrast with /ui/, and represents a regular reduction of /oi/, whose independent status is marginal, thus [koi] > kui/ 'someone'.

C/'cueth/	'sixty-four'	/'bhuē/	'earth'
		/'toe/	'pits'
C/'buæ/		C/'it's auntie'	
C/cʌ'r̩oæ/		C/cʌ'r̩oæ/	'he's a washerman'

All these are very rare, except the falling /oe/.

1.3.2 Longer sequences

Only one diphthong normally occurs in a word. Sequences of more than two members occur through the addition of morphemes: these are realized in transcription by the application of morpho-phonemic rules. Analysis of triphthongs is therefore disregarded in favour of the representation of such sequences as diphthong + vowel, thus /lʌiā/ 'tamarisks' is taken as /lʌi + ā/: in such words the sequence of vowels is usually phonetically split by a slight /y/-glide after the diphthong.

Other complex sequences which might be supposed to occur through the rigid application of morphological rules are in practice simplified, thus /ʌ'laya/ 'spoke' + /-is/ 'he has' > /ʌ'læs/ 'he has spoken'.

1.4 VOWELS IN S

A somewhat closer articulation, particularly of the front vowels, characterizes S.

S also lacks the unstable C vowel /æ/, except in the special case of /æh/ (1.12.3). In accented position C /æ/ is normally realized as S/æe/: this is possible also in C (1.2, 1.3.1). /æ/ is here transcribed to the exclusion of /Ae/, in order to avoid writing sub-phonemic differences: hence transcribed /sɪ'rækɪ/ 'Siraiki' represents phonetic /C sɪ'rækɪ ~ CS sɪ'rækɪ/.

In a restricted set of common pronominal and verbal forms accented C /æ/ corresponds to S /e/. These constitute an important dialectal shibboleth and are separately transcribed, thus:

C /'mæda/	vs.	S /'meda/	'my'
/'væda/		/'vēda/	'going'
/'væsi/		/'vesi/	'he will go'
/'bætha/		/'betha/	'sat'

Unaccented C /æ/ is realized as S /e/ in open syllables, as S /i/ in closed syllables. This is noted in transcription, thus:

C /'turdæ/	vs.	S /'turde/	'he goes'
/'turye gæn/		/'turye gm/	'they've gone away'

Thus the unstable three-term set C /e æ o/ stands mid-way between the stable systems of contrast found in the four-term U P /e æ o ɔ/ and the two-term S Si /e o/. It is to be noted, however, that /æ ~ ʌe/ and /əo/, corresponding to U P /æ ɔ/, have a special status among Siriaiki diphthongs in that they alone may be initial in a polysyllabic word, e.g., /'æra/ 'foundation', /'ʌokha/ 'difficult'.

1.5 NASALIZATION

Nasalization, transcribed as /~, occurs freely with peripheral vowels in all positions, including diphthongs. There is phonemic contrast between nasalized and non-nasalized vowels:

/'khāda/	'eating'	/'khada/	'ate'
/'tvrē/	'may you go'	/'ture/	'may he go'

Only rarely is nasalization optional. Dialectal contrast is present in such forms as /tē/ 'and', /'pichē/ 'after', characteristic of the trans-Indus region, vs. standard CS /te/ 'piche/'.

There is a weak homorganic nasal glide after nasalized peripheral vowels and before plosives: this is not transcribed. In the case of centralized vowels this glide is pronounced and more significant than the nasalization. Centralized vowels are therefore written with nasalization only in other contexts, thus /'rāhda/ 'remaining'.

The domain of nasalization extends backwards through vowel sequences, but is transcribed only on the final vowel, thus /bhū'ārā/ 'turned'. /-v-/ is a boundary for the forward, not for the backward extension of nasalization: transcribed /'gāvya/ 'sang', /'avē/ 'come' thus represent phonetic /gāvya/ but /'avē/.

Non-phonemic nasalization also occurs regularly in the context of nasal consonants, both forward and back, but is not transcribed: written /'sona/ 'gold', /cā'ñai/ 'goodness' thus represent phonetic /'sōnā cā'ñāi/. The full realization of a homorganic nasal glide

after non-phonemically nasalized centralized vowels is definitely sub-standard, thus /'sʌmɪjh ~ ('sʌmɪñjh)/ 'understand'.

In monosyllables with initial /n m/ nasalization is not automatic, and is transcribed, thus:

/mæ/	'I'	vs.	/ma/	'mother'
/mʌh/	'Magh'		/mʌh/	'month, moon'
/nã/	'name'		/nai/	'barber'

1.6 CONSONANTS

A maximum of 48 consonants, including semi-vowels, may be distinguished. The most distinctive of these are the four implosives, a set which Siraiki shares only with Si.

The consonants are defined by place and manner of articulation as:

	(vd.)	(asp.)	glottal	velar	palatal	flex	retro-	dental	labial
<u>plosives</u>	—	—		k	c	t	t	p	
	—	×		kh	ch	th	th	ph	
	×	—		g	j	d	d	b	
	×	×		gh	jh	dh	dh	bh	
<u>implosives</u>	×	—		g	j	d		b	
<u>fricatives</u>	—	—		x	s		s	f	
	×	—	h	g̚			z		
<u>nasals</u>	×	—		n̄	ñ̄	n̄	n̄	m̄	
	×	×				nh̄	nh̄	mh̄	
<u>flaps</u>	×	—				r̄	r̄		
	×	×				rh̄	rh̄		
<u>laterals</u>	×	—					l̄		
	×	×					lh̄		
<u>semi-vowels</u>	×	—				y		v	
	×	×						vh̄	

Contrasts within the system are illustrated in the following sets of minimal pairs:

a) voiceless vs. voiced

<u>plosives</u>	/k/	g/	/kɒp/	'cut'	/gɒp/	'bog'
	/c/	j/	'coga/	'bird food'	/'joga/	'fit'
	/t̪/	d/	't̪ʌkʌn/	'inoculate'	'dʌkʌn/	'stop'
	/t/	d/	/tɪl/	'oilseed'	/dɪl/	'heart'
	/p/	b/	/par/	'across'	/bar/	'load'
<u>fricatives</u>	/x/	g/	/xær/	'welfare'	/gær/	'other'
	/s/	z/	/sal/	'year'	/zal/	'woman'
	/f/	v/	/fal/	'omen'	/val/	'hair'

b) unaspirate vs. aspirate

<u>plosives</u>	/k/	kh/	'kʊsʌn/	'be killed'	/'khʊsʌn/	'drop'
	/g/	gh/	/gʌp/	'bog'	/gʌp/	'mark'
	/c/	ch/	'calə/	'custom'	'chala/	'blister'
	/j/	jh/	/jʌg/	'world'	/jʌg/	'foam'
	/t̪/	th/	't̪ʌpʌn/	'jump'	't̪ʌpʌn/	'shut'
	/d̪/	dh/	/d̪ɪd̪/	'frog'	/d̪ɪd̪/	'belly'
	/t/	th/	'tʌpʌn/	'glow'	'tʌpʌn/	'pat'
	/d/	dh/	/di/	'of'	/dhi/	'daughter'
	/p/	ph/	/pʊl/	'bridge'	/pʊl/	'flower'
	/b/	bh/	/bor/	'bored'	/bhor/	'crumb'
<u>nasals</u>	/n/	nh/	/nī/	'o!'	/nhī/	'not'
	/m/	mh/	'nɪmɪ/	'impregnated'	'nɪmhi/	'I am not'
<u>flaps</u>	/ɾ/	r̪h/	/rəɾ/	'roar'	/rəɾh/	'crop'
	/r/	rh/	'keri/	'ashes'	'kerhi/	'who?'
<u>laterals</u>	/l/	lh/	/sal/	'year'	/salh/	'reed hut'
<u>semi-vowels</u>	/v/	vh/	'nɪvē/	'bow!'	'nɪvhē/	'you're not'

c) plosive vs. implosive

/g/	g/	/gol/	'round'	/gol/	'search'
/j/	j/	'jala/	'niche'	'jala/	'cobweb'
/d̪/	d̪/	'dakt̪ər/	'doctor'	/dak/	'post'

/d	<u>d</u>	/dər/	'door'	/dər/	'fear'
/b	<u>b</u>	/bəs/	'bus'	/bəs/	'enough'

d) plosive vs. fricative

/k	x	/kar/	'deed'	/xar/	'thorn'
/kh	x	/khar/	'alkali-plant'	/xar/	'thorn'
/ch	š	/'chala/	'blister'	/'šala/	'God grant!'

e) plosive vs. semi-vowel

/j	y	/ja/	'place'	/ya/	'or'
/b	v	/bar/	'load'	/var/	'day'
/bh	vh	/'nibhi/	'passed'	/'nivhi/	'you're not'

f) other classes

/n	r	/ban/	'arrow'	/bar/	'hunger'
/nh	rh	/'sonha/	'beautiful'	/'sʌorha/	'narrow'
/r	l	/rʌt/	'blood'	/lat/	'leg'

g) glottal vs. velar

/h	x	/vɪ'sah/	'trust'	/vɪ'sax/	'Baisakh'
/h	g	/hʌm/	'I was'	/gʌm/	'grief'

h) palatal vs. dental

/š	s	/'šala/	'God grant!'	/'sala/	'wife's brother'
/ñ	n	/vʌñ/	'go!'	/vʌn/	'kind'

i) retroflex vs. dental

<u>plosives</u>	/t̪	t̪	/'tota/	'piece'	/'tota/	'parrot'
	/dh	dh	/'d̪hovən/	'convey'	/'d̪hovən/	'wash'
<u>nasals</u>	/n̪	n̪	/'kana/	'one-eyed'	/'kana/	'reed'
<u>flaps</u>	/r̪	r̪	/tar̪/	'watching'	/tar̪/	'wire'

1.7 NEUTRALIZATIONS OF CONTRAST

Some contrasts are neutralized in certain positions in the word, others are weakly established.

a) voiced retroflex plosives

The contrast between /d/ and /d̪/ is weakly established by a few sub-minimal pairs, such as /'thʌda/ 'cold' vs. /'thʌd̪a/ 'clump of

'palm-trees', and slightly strengthened in educated speech by the use of such loans as /'daktər/ 'doctor'. Otherwise /d/ occurs only after homorganic nasals following a centralized vowel, or after a nasalized peripheral vowel, and is in complementary distribution with /d̪/, which is in strong contrast with /t̪ dh d̪/ (1.6.a-c).

b) plosives vs. fricatives

Educated speech normally maintains the careful contrasts of U between plosives and homorganic fricatives (1.3.d): since the latter mostly occur only in Persian and Arabic loans, it is not always possible to establish minimal pairs. The contrast is weakened in sub-standard speech by the frequent substitution of fricatives for plosives, especially /χ ȝ z/ for /k g j/ (1.13.2.b): this is quite unlike P, where /kh g j/ regularly replace /χ ȝ z/.

c) nasals

In initial position only /h m/ contrast, since /ñ ñ n/ are medial or final only. Elsewhere /n n m/ are in strong contrast, while the independent status of /ñ ñ/ is established by such pairs as /'cʌnə/ 'good' vs. /'cʌnə/ 'gram', /θʌñ/ 'mother's milk' vs. /θʌn/ 'udder'.

The contrasts /ñ ñj/ and, especially, /ñ ñg/ are weak. C prefers the cluster, S the single nasal in such words as /hɪŋ ~ hɪñ/ 'assafoetida': the contrast is doubtful in such pairs as /sʌŋ/ 'stone' vs. /sʌñ ~ sʌŋ/ 'relationship'.

d) flaps

Opposition between /r/ and /d/ is difficult to establish in view of the weak independence of /d/ from /d/.

The contrast /r r/ is strong, but in medial and final position only, since /r/ is never initial. In Hindu speech there is, however, no such opposition: confusions in the notation of /r/ vs. /r/ in earlier accounts are to be attributed to reliance on Hindu informants. This was the major shibboleth with Muslim speech, although a few pairs like /'jerha ~ 'jerha/ 'who' occur in the latter also.

e) semi-vowels

Since the semi-vowel /y/ is initial only, contrast with /v/ is possible only in this position: transcribed /y/ elsewhere represents weakened /e/ as the first member of diphthongs (1.3.1).

In a few words initial /v/ is freely dropped: these include the adjectival postposition /'vala ~ 'ala/ and the common /vɪc ~ ɪc/ 'in'. In a few other words the dropping of /v/ is sub-standard or colloquial, thus /'vāgū ~ ('āgū)/ 'like', /'vaste ~ ('aste)/ 'for'.

f) aspirates

Apart from the plosive aspirates, only /rh lh/ are common. Only the plosive aspirates occur in initial position, except for /nh/ which is initial only, but weakly established. Other initial aspirates are possible only as the result of non-phonemic aspiration (1.12.2).

1. 8 PHONETICS OF CONSONANTS

a) /h/

/h/ is a voiced glottal fricative in all contexts, except as the mark of aspiration in the voiceless plosive aspirates */kh ch th t̪h ph/*, when it is voiceless. */h/* is discussed further below (1. 12).

b) places of articulation

Velars are normally pre-velar or mid-velar in articulation, depending upon the degree of frontness of neighbouring vowels. U */q/*, a post-velar (uvular) voiceless plosive, is occasionally employed by educated speakers in extremely formal contexts, but it does not form part of the normal Siraiki repertoire, which uses */k/* instead.

Palatal articulations are generally pre-palatal, that of */š/* definitely palato-alveolar. Retroflex articulations are post-alveolar, being articulated with the tip of the tongue, sometimes with its lower surface.

The dental plosives */t th d dh/* are immediately post-dental in articulation, the articulator being the blade rather than the tip of the tongue. */n/* is articulated rather further back on the teeth-ridge, while the position of */r/* and */l/* is typically further back still, in alveolar position: as the place of articulation moves back for these consonants, articulation is with the tip of the tongue, rather than with tip + blade or blade. For */s z/*, both dento-alveolar sibilants, the blade of the tongue rises to the teeth-ridge, the front being depressed.

/f v/ are labio-dentals, the upper teeth typically coming into contact with the lower lip some way down the inside of the latter. The affrication in */v/* is particularly weak before */u/*, as in *'vurha/ 'ploughed'*, and the phonetic realization is practically */w/*: but the contrast with the absence of */v/* is maintained in the pair *'vuthi/ 'rained'* vs. *'uthi/ 'arose'*. The articulation of the other labials is bilabial.

c) implosives

In the articulation of the implosives, the breath is momentarily drawn in before being expelled in a following vowel or explosive consonant: implosives are not normally aspirated, never phonemically.

/g/ is markedly pre-velar, being further forward than */g/* in all corresponding environments.

The articulation of */j/* is also further forward than that of all other palatals (except */š/*), being in effect alveolar-dental, with the blade as articulator. The forward position of */j/* has been plausibly cited as a reason for the lack of an implosive dental.

Normally the phonetically quite distinctive */d/*, post-alveolar in articulation but further forward than */t dh/*, and articulated with

the tip or under-surface of the tongue, functions as the implosive member of both the retroflex and the dental series. But Jhangi, characterized generally by a preference for implosives where CS has explosives, also possesses a true dental implosive. Thus CS /d̪'hara/ vs. P /d̪rära/ 'day', but Jhangi /d̪'hara/ with dental implosive: yet another realization is found in sub-standard S/(j̪'hara)/. The contrast /j d/ is usually well-maintained in CS, however: thus /'jaha/ 'hedgehog' vs./'d̪ha/ 'a Jat tribe'.

/b/ is a simple bilabial implosive.

d) fricatives

Affrication in the velar fricatives /χ ʁ/ is weak, both being pre-velar or mid-velar in articulation: there is a corresponding lack of uvular, scrappy quality. Cf. the weak affrication of /f v/.

e) nasals

/ɳ/ is a true retroflex nasal only in combinations with a retroflex plosive. As an independent phoneme it is articulated as a nasal retroflex flap, i.e., as phonetic /r̪/, and involves a more marked non-phonemic nasalization of adjacent vowels than do the other nasals. The transcription of this sound as /ɳ/ underlines the phonemic contrast with /ñ ñ n m/ rather than the principal phonetic contrast, which is with /r/.

f) flaps

/r/ is a quick retroflex tap, articulated by the tip of the tongue against the front of the palate with a single tap.

The articulation of /r/ is characteristically a weak post-dental tap, but varies greatly according to its environment. In the combinations /tr dr/ the point of articulation is markedly more forward, and /r/ is realized as a weak trill: trilling is strong only in emphatic /rr/, as in /phurr/ 'fly away!' In combinations with following retroflex plosives on the other hand, as in /gard/ 'guard', /r/ loses its usual tapped quality to become an alveolar sonant.

g) semi-vowels

The articulation of /y/ is quite lax, like that of /v/. In /'iho/ 'this very', there is a strong palatal fricative glide after /i/ in C, almost approaching /'izho/. In spite of the correspondence with /'uvho/ 'that very', it does not seem necessary to postulate a phoneme /yh/ on the basis of this one word in one local variety only.

1.9 COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS

Combinations of consonants are best considered in the context of their position in the word. The special case of geminated consonants demands separate consideration (1.9.4).

1.9.1

1.9.1 Initial clusters

Much the most frequent type of initial cluster consists of dental plosive + /r/:

/tr-/	/'trut <u>kan</u> /	'to break'
/dr-/	/dr <u>abu</u> /	'a grass'
/dhr-/	/'dhruk <u>an</u> /	'to run'

Articulation of the clusters is rapid, hardly occupying more time than that of a single consonant: the distinctive articulation of /r/ in these clusters has been remarked on (1.8.f). In the most southern parts of the S area /tr- dr-/ are realized as /tr- dr-, as they are in Sireli, the northernmost dialect of Si.

The clusters are not always preserved, particularly in educated speech, probably influenced by U P, which lack these clusters. Thus /'tikha ~ ('trikha)/ 'sharp': /'trapan ~ 'tapan ~ 'tapan/ 'to jump'. Dissolution of the clusters by metathesis in derived forms involving a postponement of the accent is common at all levels of speech, thus /'dhrukan/ but /dhvr'kavan/ 'to make run'; /træ/ 'three' but /tı'rasi ~ 'triasi/ 'eighty-three'.

The best established of other initial clusters consist of /s/+ voiceless plosive:

/sk-/	/sk <u>ul</u> /	'school'
	/sk <u>un</u> /	'peace' [=U/sukun/]
/st-/	/st <u>ul</u> /	'stool'

These clusters only occur in loans, and are commonest in the speech of those familiar with English. When /s/ is followed by a cluster or a voiced consonant, epenthesis is normal, thus /sa'trit/ 'street', /sa'moking/ 'smoking'. The degree of emphasis given to the epenthetic vowel depends upon the rapidity of speech and on the speaker's education: but these and other words with unaccented first syllable and weakly realized epenthetic vowel are not to be regarded as possessing true initial clusters. In native words the characteristic epenthetic vowel in this position is /i/, which is always clearly articulated, as in /bhr'ura/ 'brother' vs. P /prà/.

1.9.2 Medial clusters

Almost any pair of consonants may occur in a medial two-member cluster, including pairs that might seem phonetically unlikely, as in /'kirri/ 'lizard'. Syllable-boundaries are normally to be regarded as falling between medial pairs of consonants (1.11).

Three-member medial clusters are rare, other than those involving the combination of dental + /r/ thus /'mandhra/ 'dwarf' (1.9.3.c), /ik'attri/ 'thirty-one' (1.9.4).

1.9.3 Final clusters

While more restricted than medial clusters, final clusters are of much more varied type than initial clusters:

a) dental plosive + /r/

/-tr/	/putr/	'son'	/sotr/	'cousin'
/-dr/	/hʌ'lʌdr/	'turmeric'	/kūdr/	'bulrush'
/-dhr/	/dʌdhr/	'ringworm'		

As in initial or medial position, the articulation of these clusters is rapid: there is no post-cluster vocalic release of the kind discernible after other types of final cluster in slow or emphatic speech.

b) homorganic nasal + voiced plosive

This is the commonest type of final cluster, occurring only after a centralized vowel (1.5):

/-ŋ/	/jʌŋ/	'war'
/-ngh/	/jʌngh/	'leg'
/-ñj/	/hñj/	'separate'
/-ñjh/	/vññjh/	'boating-pole'
/-ṇd/	/khṇd/	'sugar'
/-ṇdh/	/cundh/	'corner'
/-nd/	/bṇnd/	'closed'
/-ndh/	/bṇndh/	'dyke'
/-mb/	/ʌmb/	'mango'
/-mbh/	/cumbh/	'be pricked'

Implosives do not occur in these or any other final clusters: the second member is always voiced, although there is a homorganic nasal glide before a final voiceless plosive in such words as /bæk/ 'bank'.

c) /n/ + dental plosive + /r/

This is the only three-member final cluster and represents a combination of the first two types:

/-ndr/	/cṇndr/	'moon'
--------	---------	--------

/-ndhr/ does not seem to occur.

d) nasal + sibilant

This appears to be restricted to a single instance:

/-ns/	/'sæhɪns/	'a thousand'
-------	-----------	--------------

a) /n/ + plosive

Since /n/ is phonetically /f/ in these clusters, their analysis as non-homorganic nasal + plosive is doubtful:

/-ŋk/	/cɪŋk/	'jingle'
-------	--------	----------

/-ŋg/	/[cɪŋg] ~ 'cɪŋgi/	'spark'
-------	-------------------	---------

/-ŋj/	/vʌŋj/	'trade'
-------	--------	---------

f) voiceless velar + sibilant

/-xš/	/'kadɪrbaxš/	'Qadirbakhsh'
-------	--------------	---------------

/-kš/	/nʌks/	'impression'
-------	--------	--------------

/-ks/	/rʌks/	'dance'
-------	--------	---------

g) voiceless fricative + voiceless plosive

/-xt/	/dʌ'rʌxt/	'tree'
-------	-----------	--------

/-šk/	/mušk/	'musk'
-------	--------	--------

/-št/	/gošt/	'meat'
-------	--------	--------

/-st/	/dost/	'friend'
-------	--------	----------

/-ft/	/koft/	'blow'
-------	--------	--------

Sub-standard has /vʌxt/ 'time', but standard has /vʌkt/, probably following U /vøqt/: this is the only instance of a final plosive + plosive cluster.

h) other final clusters

U admits a very large number of final clusters, some of which are also employed in loans in standard Siraiki. The best established of these have /r/ as first member:

/-rg/	/murğ/	'fowl'
-------	--------	--------

/-rt/	/mart/	'mart'
-------	--------	--------

/-rd/	/gard/	'guard'
-------	--------	---------

/-rd/	/gird/	'around'
-------	--------	----------

But many clusters of /r l/ + voiceless consonants are liable to epenthesis, even in educated speech:

/-rk/	/fʌrk ~ fʌrak/	'difference'
-------	----------------	--------------

/-lk/	/mulk ~ ('mulʌk)/	'country'
-------	-------------------	-----------

/-rf/	/sirf ~ 'sɪrʌf/	'only'
-------	-----------------	--------

All other final clusters in loans are usually realized at all levels with epenthesis: the epenthetic vowel is normally /ʌ/, sometimes /i v/ after accented /-i- -u-/; thus:

U /-kr/	U /fikr/ >	CS /'fikʌr ~ 'fikɪr/	'worry'
/-g̡z/	/məg̡z/	/'mʌg̡z/	'brain'
/-g̡l/	/šv̡l/	/'šv̡l/	'occupation'
/-sm/	/rəsm/	/'rʌsʌm/	'custom'
/-rm/	/šərm/	/'šʌrʌm/	'shame'
/-lm/	/film/	/'fi lʌm/	'film'

Exceptional, however, is the retention of a final sonant cluster in:

U /-fz/	U /ləfz/ > CS /-vz/ /lʌvz/	'word'
---------	----------------------------	--------

1.9.4 Geminates

Initial geminates are impossible. All consonants are capable of gemination other than /h/, /y/ which is initial only, and /n r/ which consist of a single tap.

Geminate sonants are sounded for longer than the corresponding single phonemes, /rr/ being trilled (1.8.f). Geminate plosives and implosives involve retention of the plosion of breath after realization of the preceding vowel. Geminate aspirates have aspiration only at the final release, thus /khh llh/. Medial geminates before another cluster are realized with weak epenthesis, thus /'vʌññəna/ 'worthy to be gone': final plosive geminates are realized with noticeable vocalic release, the only common instance being /vɪccə ~ iccə/ 'in'.

Gemination can occur only after an accented centralized vowel. Realization of gemination is weak, and is often noticeable only when the accent of the syllable containing the geminate is reinforced by emphasis in the intonation pattern of the utterance (8.7): thus /'v̡thi putr/ 'Get up, my boy!' vs. /o kʌlh sʌ'bhai 'v̡thi/ 'She got up yesterday morning.' Realization of gemination is much weaker than in P, rather resembling Si in this respect.

Gemination is always possible after an accented centralized vowel, and there is no real contrast between such etymological pairs as /'dili/ 'heart-felt' vs. /'dilli/ 'Delhi'. In such pairs as /'vʌtta ~ 'vʌtta/ 'clod' vs. /vʌ'ta/ 'change', the contrast is one of accent rather than of gemination.

The realization of gemination is usually weakest before another consonant and finally: it is strongest when the accented syllable is second in the word. Gemination is written in this transcription only after accented vowels in the second syllable of trisyllabic words. This corresponds closely to the phonetic facts as well as serving to indicate differences of accent in such pairs as /bʌ'lʌkki/ 'childhood' vs. /'mʌlika/ 'o master!', and the special status of /-tr-/ clusters in words of the type /i'kʌttri/ 'thirty-one'.

1. 10 ACCENT

All words, other than a very restricted set of enclitics (1.11.2), have one accented syllable. Words of more than two syllables may also have a secondary accent.

The tonic syllable is distinguished principally by length from its neighbours, either by the lengthening of peripheral vowels or by the gemination of consonants following centralized vowels. The relative length of the tonic syllable is phonetically realized by contrast with the post-tonic syllable, which thus acts as a tail. If there is no post-tonic syllable, the tonic syllable is prolonged by a short vocalic release, marked only in slow or emphatic speech, thus /viccə kɪ'tabə bhi'rəə/: the regular realization of final accented /-æ/ as /-ae/ is a specialized instance of this rule (1.3.1.a).

The commonest word-pattern consists of disyllables with accented first syllable: this pattern, together with that of monosyllables, accounts for the great majority of all words.

In disyllables with second syllable tonic the pre-tonic syllable is always weak, i.e., it will always contain a centralized vowel reduced in quality (1.2), followed by a single consonant at the most. The commonest type of trisyllabic word has weak pre-tonic, strongly marked tonic and tail-bearing final syllable intermediate in quality.

Trisyllables in which the accent is on the first syllable have secondary accent on the third, i.e., allowing the interval of a syllable for the tail of the tonic to be realized, thus /'ʌbʌr'gut/ 'suddenly'. Words of more than three syllables occur only as compounds. (1.11.4).

1. 10.1 Notation of accent

Hereafter the accent will not normally be noted in transcription, since the accent of most words is predictable by the following rules:

a) all words have first-syllable accent, except

b) disyllables with weak pre-tonic and peripheral vowel + consonant or diphthong in the second syllable, like /saval/ 'question', /dɪrkhan/ 'carpenter', /səzai/ 'punishments', which have final accent, and

c) trisyllables with weak pre-tonic and peripheral vowel or centralized vowel + geminate in the second syllable, like /vicara/ 'poor', /cuhattar/ 'seventy-four', which have second-syllable accent.

The accent is noted in transcription only in unpredictable cases, most of which fall into the following two types:

d) disyllables with weak pre-tonic and centralized vowel +

consonant in the second syllable:

/su'nhap/ 'beauty' vs. /taraph/ 'agitation'

/gha'sun/ 'punch' /ghusən/ 'to err'

e) disyllables with weak pre-tonic and final peripheral vowel:

/bhi'ra/ 'brother' vs. /bhari/ 'filled'

/it'la/ 'informing' /itla/ 'so much'

The only minimal pairs differentiated by the position of accent belong to this class.

1.11 BOUNDARIES

1.11.1 Syllable-boundaries

Syllable-boundaries are for the most part obvious. Boundaries in vowel sequences occur after a diphthong (1.3.2), or after a peripheral and before a centralized vowel (1.3), thus /'lai ā/ 'tamarisks', /'su ʌr/ 'pig'.

Syllable boundaries are to be regarded as falling between medial consonant pairs, thus /mvr 'rē da/ 'twisting'. In slow speech two-member medial clusters may be broken by a weak epenthetic vowel, especially when the first member follows an accented peripheral vowel and the second marks the beginning of a grammatical morpheme: thus transcribed /'golna/ 'worthy to be searched' may represent phonetic /'golə̄ nā/.

Second syllables normally begin with a single consonant, where possible, although this phonetic analysis may conflict with morphemic patterns, thus /'dos tā/ 'friends', but /dost/ 'friend': /'a kho/ 'say!', but /'akh si/ 'he will say'. Three-member medial clusters resulting from morphemic additions may, however, be straightforwardly divided before the last consonant, thus /'tāng si/ 'it will hang'. Three-member medial clusters involving /-tr/ are divided as /i 'kʌt tri/ 'thirty-one', on the pattern of /cu'hʌt tar/ 'seventy-four'; but those involving /-ndr/ as /'ʌnd rū/ 'from inside', since the combination of homorganic nasal + plosive forms an even tighter cluster than dental + /r/.

1.11.2 Word-boundaries

Word-boundaries are usually clearly defined both by the phonological criterion of the incidence of accent and tail and by semantic data, thus /bha'jai/ 'chased away' (one word) vs. /'bhʌj 'ai/ 'she ran up' (two words). In a few cases, however, the incidence of a word-boundary is harder to determine, and inconsistency of orthography reflects the confusion of native speakers also. Such doubtful boun-

1.11.2

daries occur in many compounds (1.11.4) and with three classes of enclitic, for which arbitrary writing rules are required:

a) postpositions

The postpositions /da/ 'of', /kū/ 'to' and /ic/ 'in' only occur enclitically. These words are written independently after nouns, as /'chohir kū/ 'to the girl', although the postposition can have at most secondary accent and such phrases are phonetically equivalent in accentual pattern to such trisyllables as /'ʌbʌrgut/ 'suddenly'. After pronouns, however, /da kū/ are regarded as usually forming a single word, thus /'ūda/ 'his', /ukū/ 'to him' (2.8-9).

b) emphatic /i/

This is always enclitic (8.7.2), but is normally written as a separate word. Pairs like /'ithā/ 'here' vs. *[ithā + i] > /i'thāi/ 'right here' are regarded as separate lexical items. Pronouns again form a special case and /i/ forms a single word with the personal pronouns (2.8), thus /e kām ʌ'saīkitā/ 'We did this' vs. /e kām 'ʌsā 'i kita/ 'We did it like this.'

c) present auxiliary

Many forms of the present auxiliary verb are used enclitically, often involving the elision of vowels: rules are given in 4.15.2.

1.11.3 Sandhi

Except in the cases of /i/ and the present auxiliary as referred to above, word-sandhi is not noted in transcription, although it is common in rapid colloquial speech between adjacent consonants: thus a voiceless cluster becomes voiced before a following initial voiced consonant in /muft di šArab > muvd di šArab/ 'free drink'. Consonant-sandhi within a word is also to be noted in the treatment of such loans as /'ʌvzAl/ 'Afzal'.

1.11.4 Compounds

Native compounds are transcribed as two words, although the primary accent falls on the first member only, thus /"mʌrʌn 'mʌñja/ 'death-bed', /'nɪmʌk 'khavna/ 'faithful' (lit. 'salt-eating') (6.7.2).

Loan compounds from Persian and English are common in educated speech: realization as one word or two varies, thus /tʌn'drusti/ 'health' (< Persian /tʌn/ 'body' + /durust/ 'right'), but /sʌ"lipɪng 'sut/ 'pyjamas'.

1.12 ASPIRATION

Aspiration is a complex and interesting feature of the language. The freedom with which aspiration is realized in Siraiki is analogous,

although it is phonetically in strong contrast, to the general replacement of aspiration in P by high and low tone (especially in the Majhi dialect), or the different patterns of tone in the Northern Lahnda dialects.

/h/ is a voiced glottal aspirate phoneme. The same sound occurs as the aspirate element of the voiced aspirate consonants, but there is a contrast of syllabification between these and the corresponding unaspirated sounds followed by /h/, e.g., /'səmən/ 'to sleep', vs. /təmən/ 'hid' 'preface'. Voiceless /h/ occurs as the aspirate element of the voiceless aspirate plosives.

1.12.1 Initial /h/

In most words initial /h/ is stable, contrasting with other initial consonants (1.6.g). Other minimal pairs establish the contrast between the presence and absence of initial /h/:

/həθ/	'obstinacy'	vs.	/θəθ/	'eight'
/hʌdi/	'bone'		/ʌdi/	'heel'

This contrast is not absolute, however, since so-called 'spontaneous' initial aspiration is quite common, thus /əθəθ/ 'eight' > /əθəθəθəθ/ 'at the vele ~ at the vele ~ at all times'.

A few such doublets have come to be semantically differentiated, thus /hʌsvar/ 'horseman' vs. /sʌvar/ 'passenger'. In some cases the form with /h-/ is standard, as in /hɪk/ 'one', /hɪkʌlla/ 'alone', vs. P /ɪk ɪkəlla/: in others it exists as a sub-standard variant, thus /əfim ~ (h)əfim/ 'opium', cf. U/əfim/.

Loss of initial /h/ is virtually confined to the short forms of the present auxiliary (4.15.1).

Intervocalic /h/ may be regarded as syllable-initial /h-/ by the rules of syllabification laid down in 1.11.1. Special cases of modification and displacement are dealt with in the succeeding paragraphs.

1.12.2 Final /h/

Final /h/ implies a preceding breathed vowel, and contrasts with the absence of /-h/:

/nʌðh/	'nail'	vs.	/nʌð/	'nine'
--------	--------	-----	-------	--------

The voiced quality of /-h/ involves a predictable aspirated onset to the vowel after unaspirated voiced consonants: thus transcribed /bæh/ 'sit', /müh/ 'face', imply phonetic /bhæh m'hüh/. Implosives are aspirated only in this non-phonemic instance.

Two realizations are possible of the vowel coloured by final /h/. Either the vowel is prolonged, aspiration at the onset is marked and vocalic release after /h/ is more distinct than the post-accentual tail after other final consonants (1.10); or the vowel is markedly short, all peripheral vowels being partly centralized, initial aspira-

tion is weaker and the final vocalic release is practically indistinguishable.

These articulations are in free variation in monosyllables. Thus, taking /u/ as the normal length of the vowel, transcribed /mūh/, may represent either /m^hū:h^ū/ or /m(h)ūh/. Final /-h/ in a post-tonic syllable implies the second realization only, as in /'kʌtēh/ 'Kartik': but final /-h/ in a non-initial tonic syllable implies only the first realization, thus /kʌ'rī:h/ 'caper'.

Loss of final /-h/ is discussed in 1.12.6.

1.12.3 /ah/ and /ah/

The centralization of peripheral vowels before /h/ is particularly marked for /ah/. The phonemic distinction between /ah/ and /ah/ has been lost in the modern language, probably quite recently, for it would appear to be maintained in the 19thc. poetry and is still preserved in the conservative SiS (9.2.5). An important consequence of the loss of this distinction is the falling together of such formerly contrastive pairs as /rʌhʌn/ 'to be sown' vs. /rahan/ 'to sow' (4.4.1).

Native orthography is very uncertain in the writing of /ah ah/: here either /ah/ or /ah/ is transcribed, according to position:

- a) in post-tonic position only /ah/, realized as /əh/, can occur (1.12.2), thus /tarʌh/ 'manner', /yarʌh/ 'eleven'.
- b) in monosyllables /ah/ and /ah/ are phonetically in free variation, by extension of the rules governing final /-h/, thus /bāh ~ bāh/ 'arm'. But only /bʌh/ is transcribed, since inflexion will bring such monosyllables under the next heading.
- c) an initial tonic syllable always has /ah/, thus /rʌhʌn/ 'to live' /cahʌn/ 'to want' vs. U /ræhna cahna/. /h/ does not act as a barrier for the backward extension of nasalization (1.5), thus /bʌhī/ 'arms' represents phonetic /b(h)ʌhī/.
- d) a non-initial tonic syllable always has /ah/, in conformity with the standard lengthening of all peripheral vowels before /-h/ in this position (1.12.2), thus /ɪthahī/ 'right here', /cʌnah/ 'Chenab', vs. /yarʌh/ 'eleven'.

These rules represent a formalization of the phonetic facts analogous to those established for the writing of geminates, and in conformity with the rules for indicating the accent (1.10.1): in such learned loans as /muahid/ 'monotheist' vs. U /muvhhid/ the vowel-lengthening compensates for the simplification of the geminate, since /hh/ does not occur (1.9.4).

The rules given must be supplemented in one instance:

- e) the change *[ʌhɪ] > /əhɪ/ is regular: thus /ræhɪn/ 'may they live' vs. /rʌhʌn/ 'to live', /sæhɪb/ 'sir' vs. U /sahəb ~ sahəb/, /tæhɪr/

'Tahir' vs. U /tahr/. This sequence, which marks the only regular occurrence of /æ/ in S, is also extended in educated speech in imitation of U to other contexts, thus /šʌhʌr ~ šæhɪr/ 'city', cf. U /šæhr/. A concealed example of the same vowel-harmony is found in the formation of some catenative participles (4.9.1.b), such as *[rʌhi] > /ræh/.

Vowel-harmony of a similar type is optional in the sequence /ʌhi/ thus /bʌhɪ ~ bæhɪ/ 'arms': but /ahɪ/, by definition non-initial, is unaffected, thus S /vnaħħiħ/ 'fifty-nine'.

Earlier accounts of the language note another instance of vowel harmony, namely /ʌhu > ɔhu/: this does not form part of standard CS which has, e.g., /rʌħak/ 'cultivator' vs. sub-standard N /(rʌħuk ~ roħuk)/. Some rounding of /ʌ/ is discernible in some speakers' pronunciation of such words as /bʌħo/ 'sit', /bʌħū/ 'very', but this is not sufficient to warrant transcription as /ɔ/.

1.12.4 Pre-consonantal /h/

Syllable-final /h/ preceding a voiceless consonant is maintained, the preceding vowel being realized as short and the voicing of /h/ reduced, as in /rʌħsi/ 'he will live'. A similar realization is also possible before a voiced consonant, except that there is no reduction in the voicing of /h/. When the preceding vowel is nasalized there is the usual homorganic nasal glide after the breathed vowel: thus /rʌħda/ 'living' (representing phonetic /rʌħnda/).

Medial clusters of /h/ + voiced consonant are however frequently resolved by metathesis into the corresponding voiced aspirate, /ah/ becoming /a/, thus /ħħal/ 'manure' > /alħi/ 'scavenger'. This metathesis, usually a preferred alternative to the retention of a cluster with pre-consonantal /h/, is very common in inflected forms:

/šʌħħar ~ šæħir/	'city'	>	/ʃarħā ~ šʌħħrā/	'cities'
/rʌħħan/	'to live'		/rāħħa ~ rʌħħda/	'living'
/dohħan/	'to milk'		/dōħħa ~ dōħħda/	'milking'

The same change is extended to pre-consonantal /kh/ in two instances:

/akhħan/	'to say'	> C /akhħda ~ ħħadħa ~ adħħa/	'saying'
/dekhħan/	'to see'	/dekhħda ~ deħħda ~ dedħħa/	'seeing'

Metathesis is standard where there is no root-form as for these nominal forms or participles, except where there is a clear U parallel, thus /mohħa/ 'chessman': U /pæħħla/ also accounts for the preference in the set of alternatives /pæħħla ~ pæħħa ~ (pħħla ~ palħa) / 'first'.

1.12.5 Other transfers of /h/

/h/ in other positions than pre-consonantal is also liable to metathesis, leading to a voiced aspirate:

a) initial /h/

There are a few examples of dialect preference:

/S hunē ~ unhē ~ C unhā/ 'them'

/C hunala ~ S unhalā/ 'summer'

b) intervocalic /h/

There are occasional examples of regressive transfer of intervocalic /h/:

/sʌbahī ~ sʌbhaī/ 'to-morrow'

Where there is no voiced consonant to which /h/ can be attached, intervocalic /h/ may be transferred to final position, especially in the sequence /ʌho > ʌoh/: thus /bʌho ~ bʌoh/ 'sit', or regular /pəōhcən/ 'to arrive' vs. U/pəhūcna ~ pōhcna/.

c) final /h/

Regressive transfer of final /h/ to a preceding voiced consonant is quite common: as in the metathesis of pre-consonantal /h/, /ʌh/ becomes /a/:

/tʌrʌh ~ tʌrhā/ 'way'

/yarʌh ~ yarhā/ 'eleven'

/pʌndrʌh ~ pʌndhrā/ 'fifteen'

The transfer back to /d/ in the last instance, yielding the well-established medial cluster /—ndhr—/ (1.9.2), is to be noted.

1.12.6 Loss of aspiration

Loss of aspiration is frequent in the vicinity of other aspirates.

a) intervocalic /h/

Intervocalic /h/ may occur only once in a word, thus:

[rʌh- + -ahe] > /rʌhae/ 'please remain!'

Intervocalic /h/ between peripheral vowels following an earlier aspirate may also be lost:

/ɪthahī ~ ithaī/ 'right here'

/vʌthuhā ~ vʌthuā/ 'scorpion'

b) pre-consonantal /h/

Pre-consonantal /h/ is regularly dropped following an earlier aspirate:

/dhʌhʌn/ 'to fall' vs. /dhasi/ 'he will fall'

c) final /h/

Final /h/ is now regularly dropped in monosyllables with an initial aspirate: earlier forms with /h/ are to be found in older texts, but are now obsolete, except as particularly careful or emphatic alternatives:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| /[bhah] > bha/ | 'fire' |
| /[chah] > cha/ | 'buttermilk' |
| /[khuh] > khu/ | 'well' |

d) voiced aspirates

Voiced aspirates regularly lose their aspiration after a preceding aspirate, although earlier forms with aspiration are again to be found in older texts:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------|
| /[ghidha] > ghida/ | 'took' |
| /[hʌñjhū] > hʌñjū/ | 'tears' |
| /[khadha] > khada/ | 'ate' |
| /[khʌñgh] > khʌñg/ | 'cough' |
| /[thʌdha] > thʌda/ | 'cold' |

Thus the regular ordinal suffix /-vhā/, as in /sʌtʌrvhā/ 'seventieth', becomes /-vā/ after an aspirate, as in /sathvā/ 'sixtieth': after /h/ metathesis is possible, as in /vihvā ~ vivhā/ 'twentieth'.

The reverse process, in which the first aspirate loses its aspiration (Grassmann's law), is not generally active, although isolated examples may be cited: thus /kʌlh/ 'yesterday' > /kʌlʌthū/ 'day before yesterday'.

e) spontaneous loss of aspiration

In some words older aspirates have lost their aspiration, although there is no other aspirate in the word:

- | | |
|--------------------|------------|
| /[cʌrhʌn] > cʌrʌn/ | 'to mount' |
| /[kolhū] > kolū/ | 'from' |
| /[thū] > tū/ | 'from' |
| /[sʌmhda] > sʌmda/ | 'sleeping' |

Such loss of aspiration is to be compared with the reverse process of spontaneous aspiration (1.12.1; 1.13.2.f) as a further

indication of the instability in the realization of aspiration which characterizes the language.

1.13 PHONOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENTS IN LOANS

Loans are here defined as those loans from other languages of whose origin at least more educated speakers will be aware. Arabic and Persian words are treated as loans from Urdu, although in many cases the original borrowing may have been direct from Persian: for it is the model of U pronunciation against which adjustments are judged, some being accepted as standard, others stigmatized as sub-standard by educated speakers.

1.13.1 Adjustments of vowels

These are mostly regarded as standard.

a) pre-tonic vowels

Pre-tonic peripheral vowels are regularly weakened to centralized vowels:

/a > ʌ/	U /asman/	> /ʌsman/	'sky'
/e > ɪ/	/etiraz/	/itraz/	'objection'
/æ > ɪ/	/sælab/	/silab/	'flood'

Pre-tonic centralized vowels are normally preserved, thus /mizaj/ 'constitution' as U, vs. P /məzaj/: but pre-tonic /ʊ/ may be lost before a following rounded vowel, yielding an initial cluster (1.9.1):

U /durust/	> /drust/	'correct'
/sukun/	/skun/	'peace'

b) reduction of vowel sequences

A few sequences are regularly reduced. Some of these are very common:

/əə > a/	U /təəjjub/	> /tajub/	'wonder'
/aɪ > æ/	/faɪda/	/fæda/	'use'
/ayə > ə/	/šayəd/	/šət/	'perhaps'
/ayə > aɪ/	/rivayət/	/rivət/	'tradition'
/əya > ia/	/xəyal/	/xial/	'thought'

U/y/ is a semi-vowel, which does not occur in Siraiki, except initially. U/ai/ is sometimes preserved in careful speech, probably influenced by the written 'ain, in such words as /šair ~ šær/ 'poet'.

The reduction /ayə > aɪ/ is standard, except in monosyllables.

Sequences involving /v/ are usually preserved, thus /sʌval/ 'question' as U, vs. P /sʊval/: but /ʌvʌ/ may be reduced to /əo/, thus /gʌvʌrmɪnt ~ gʌormɪnt/ 'government'.

c) nasalization

Nasalization of vowels, especially before sibilants, is quite common, but educated speech here frequently follows U:

/ə > ʌ/	U /həvəs/	> /hʌvʌs/	'lust'
/ɪ > ɪ/	/rəvɪš/	/rʌvɪš/	'manner'
/æ > ɛ/	/æš/	/ɛš/	'luxury'
/ɔ > ʌð/	/hɔsla/	/hʌðsla/	'courage'
	/ʃɔq/	/ʃʌðk/	'desire'

1. 13. 2 Adjustments of consonants

These are more varied in type, but many are characteristic of sub-standard speech only.

a) plosive > implosive

This is quite common, but not a regular change. Plosives are always preserved in clusters, but there are no other formal restrictions:

/g > <u>g</u> /	U /gɪla/	>	/gɪla/	'complaint'
	/pagəl/		/pagʌl/	'mad'
/j > <u>j</u> /	/xəjɪl/		/xʌjɪl/	'disgraced'
/d > <u>d</u> /	E > /dak्तər/		/(_dagdar)/	'doctor'
	E > /fərad/		/(_fərad)/	'nonsense'
/b > <u>b</u> /	/bəs/		/bʌs/	'enough'
	E > /rəbər/		/rʌbʌr/	'rubber'
	/ləb/		/lʌb/	'lip'

The change /d > d/ is definitely sub-standard. In Jhangi implosives are very freely employed in loans where CS retains the plosive, thus Jhangi /gʌrʊl/ 'girl', /gʌrʌm/ 'warm', /bʌhʌdʊr/ 'brave', vs. CS /gʌrl/ garam bʌhadʊr/: /d/ is also changed to a dental implosive in Jhangi, thus /dost/ 'friend' vs. CS / dost/ (1. 8. c.).

b) plosive > fricative

This change is very common in sub-standard and colloquial speech, but careful educated speech usually preserves the plosive,

while simplifying final clusters (1.9.3.h):

/q > x/	U /vəqt/	>	/vʌxt/	'time'
/k > x/	/šukr/		/šuxur/	'thanks'
	/mulk/		/⟨mulʌx⟩/	'country'
/g > ġ/	/gvzara/		/ğvzara/	'livelihood'
	/sədager/		/sudağər/	'trader'
/j > z/	/juma/		/⟨zvma⟩/	'Friday'
	/fʌjr/		/⟨fazir⟩/	'dawn'
	/burj/		/⟨buruz⟩/	'tower'
/b > v/	/šorba/		/šorvā/	'gravy'

Bracketed forms are definitely rustic.

The reverse change of fricative to plosive is much less common, except:

/v > b/	U /jəbab/	>	/⟨jʌbab⟩/	'answer'
c) <u>dental</u> > <u>retroflex</u>				
/n > ɳ/	U /rənəq/	>	/rʌɳəŋk/	'splendour'
	/sabun/		/sabun/	'soap'
/r > ɻ/	/vrdu/		/⟨vrdu⟩/	'Urdu'

The change /n > ɳ/ includes many standard forms, and is further extended in sub-standard speech: /r/ regularly becomes /ɻ/ in medial clusters in rustic speech only.

d) dental > palatal

Only sibilants are affected, and the change is definitely rustic:

/s > š/	U /masum/	>	/⟨mʌʃum⟩/	'innocent'
E > /fəst/			/⟨fʌʃt⟩/	'first'

e) devoicing

This appears to be restricted to a single pattern:

/d > t/	U /jəldi/	>	/jəlti/	'quickly'
	/šayəd/		/šət/	'perhaps'

f) aspiration

The addition of initial /h-/ is quite common (1.12.1). Spontaneous final aspiration also occurs:

/a > ah/	U /pərvah/	>	/pʌrvah/	'care'
	/fana/		/fʌnah/	'destruction'

/h/ is sometimes added to a final consonant, but forms without /h/ are also in common use:

U /v̥mr/	> /v̥mrʌh/	'life'
/əksər/	/əksʌrʌh/	'often'

Aspiration of medial or final sonants is common only in sub-standard speech:

/n > nh/	U /məna/	> /mʌnha/	'forbidden'
/r > rh/	E > /lari/	/larhi/	'lorry'
/l > lh/	/sal/	/(salh)/	'year'

g) dissimilation

Apart from the dissimilation of aspirates (1.12.6), this is confined to a few sub-standard examples:

U /košiš/	> /(košt)/	'effort'
-----------	------------	----------

h) simplification of clusters

Most initial clusters, and many final clusters are regularly simplified by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, usually /ʌ/ (1.9.1, 3.h). In a few other instances the first member is omitted in initial clusters, the last in final clusters:

/st- > t-/ E > U /tštešən/	> /tɛšən/	'station'
/-št > -š/ /bərdast/	/bʌrdaš/	'supporting'

Medial clusters are seldom simplified, except in one instance:

/-zd- > -z-/ U /məzduri/	> /mazuri/	'wages'
/nəzdziki/	/nəziki/	'neighbourhood'

But /məzdur/ 'workman' and /nəzdzik/ 'near' are standard: the change /d/ > /z/ in /xidmat ~ (xizmat)/ 'service' may help explain the simplification of /-zd-/.

The regular loss of /h/ in a pre-tonic syllable before a sibilant is perhaps a special case of the weakening of pre-tonic syllables (1.13.1.a):

/-hs- > -s-/ U /ehsan/	> /isan/	'obligation'
/məhsul/	/mʌsul/	'revenue'

i) metathesis

The metathesis of pre-consonantal /h/ is common at all levels, although it is restrained in careful educated speech by the influence of U (1.12.4):

U /ohda/	> /hoda/	'office'
/mohlat/	/molhat/	'respite'

Common also at all levels are minor displacements of consonants:

U /qudrətən/ > /kudərtən/ 'naturally'

More extensive displacements are however definitely characteristic of substandard speech. None of the following examples would be considered standard:

U /mətləb/ > /(mʌtbʌl)/ 'purpose'

E >	/sigrət/	/(sirgit)/	'cigarette'
	/bənduq/	/(dʌmbux)/	'rifle'

1.14 SCRIPT

The only native script peculiar to the region is the local variant of the north-west Indian alphabet known locally as /kərikkī/ from its use by Hindu shopkeepers for business purposes. Since the emigration of the Hindu population to India in 1947, this script has ceased to be used in the Siraiki-speaking area. It was used for the so-called 'Multani' translation of the New Testament published at Serampore in 1819, but has had no other significance as a vehicle for literature: an example of the script is given in LSI: 1919.

Most Siraiki-speakers being Muslim, it is the Arabic script which is normally used for writing the language, hitherto usually in the *nasta'līq* form standard for U. Orthography is far from standardized: sometimes U norms are followed where possible, while other writers prefer to show maximum distinction from these. Although the U script is often still used without modification, special diacritics are now usually added to distinguish letters peculiar to Siraiki: but attempts to establish a universally accepted system have so far proved unsuccessful. SiS is written in the Sindhi alphabet, in which all these letters can be written unambiguously.

The table opposite shows the standard U and Si letters and the principal local modifications of U, of which the set on the right is the been established.

Writing /ñ/ and /ñ/ as the digraphs [nj] and [ng] avoids the need for two extra letters on the pattern of Si, since sequences of nasal + implosive do not occur. Writing /n/ as [nr] indicates its phonetic status as /r/, but leads to some rather awkward orthographic sequences.

	<u>Urdu</u>	<u>Local modifications of U</u>	<u>Sindhi</u>
/b/	ب	ٻ	ٻ
/j/	ج	ڃ	ڙ
/d/	ڏ	ڏ	ڏ
/g/	گ	ڳ	ڳ
/ñ/	خ	ڦ	ڦ
/n/	نگ	ڱ	ڱ
/ñ/	ن	ڙ	ڙ

CHAPTER 2

THE NOUN

2.1 WORD CLASSES

A number of quite distinct word classes are considered under the general heading of the Noun, since they are liable to similar patterns of inflexion. In order of discussion these are:

a) the noun proper (2. 2-4)

b) the adjective, morphologically closely related to the noun; and its restricted sub-class, the numeral (2. 5-6)

c) the postposition, which is used with both nouns and pronouns (2. 7)

d) the pronoun, a restricted class of morphologically distinctive words, but considered here with the wider category of the pronominal adjective (2. 8-12).

2.2 GENDER

Nouns are divided into two classes, masculine (m.) and feminine (f.), each entailing different patterns of inflexion.

The gender of nouns denoting animates is semantically governed, i.e., names of males are m., of females f. Formal criteria are less absolute, and always subject to this semantic rule. Formal rules of sufficiently general application to be noted are:

a) most nouns in unaccented /-a/ are m., most in unaccented /-i/ are f.: thus /kapra/ m. 'cloth', /dori/ f. 'lace' (but, by the semantic rule, /nai/ m. 'barber'). Such pairs frequently correspond semantically to male and female pairs:

/dada/	m.	'father's father'	/dadi/	f.	'father's mother'
/ghora/	m.	'horse'	/ghori/	f.	'mare'

In the case of inanimates such pairing generally denotes a difference of size:

/buta/	m.	'large plant'	/buti/	f.	'small plant'
/capa/	m.	'large oar'	/capi/	f.	'small oar'

- b) most m. animates in unaccented /-i/ have f. /-in/:
- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| /dhobi/ m. | 'washerman' | /dhobin/ f. | 'washerwoman' |
| /dihati/ m. | 'countryman' | /dihatın/ f. | 'countrywoman' |

There are, however, several exceptions to this rule, thus /moci/ m. 'cobbler' > /muciani/ f.: /nai/ m. 'barber' > /nivani/ f.

c) nouns with post-tonic /-u-/ and nouns with post-tonic CS /-ʌ-/ ~ N /-o-/ are m.: nouns with post-tonic /-i-/ are f.: thus /šukur/ m. 'thanks', /CS jaħgħal ~N jaħgħul/ m. 'jungle', but /pinsil/ f. 'pencil'. Such pairs frequently correspond to male and female pairs:

/kukur/ m.	'cock'	/kukir/ f.	'hen'
/C chohar ~ N chohar		/CN chohir ~	
S chuhur/ m.	'boy'	S /chuhir/ f.	'girl'

This pattern, shared only with some Northern Lahnda dialects, is to be explained historically as the result of regressive vowel-harmony, i.e., *[choħaru > chohuru] > N /chohur/. But post-tonic /-u-/ is regular only in N and Jhangi: it is also found in at least some varieties of sub-standard C and of Hindu speech. In S and standard C post-tonic /-u-/ is preserved only after tonic /-u-/, perhaps by progressive vowel-harmony: some f. nouns with tonic /-i-/ and post-tonic /-ʌ-/ are similarly liable to assimilation with those having post-tonic /-i-/, thus /pinsal ~ pinsil/ pencil.

d) Apart from the last category, the gender system is very similar to that of U P, and nouns are generally assigned genders identical with those of the corresponding nouns in these languages. Where U differs from P, the correspondence is usually with P, thus /nak/ m. 'nose' as P /nək/m., vs. U /nak/ f.: in a few cases of uncertain gender the popular preference is for agreement with P, while U provides an educated alternative, thus /ruh/ 'soul' and /rah/ 'way' are both m. ~f., but P /rū rá/ m. and U /ruh rah/ f.

Examples of disagreement with both languages are uncommon. /cinta/ 'worry' and /cixa/ 'pyre' are both m., assimilated to the dominant class of m. nouns in unaccented /-a/, but are both f. in U and P. /dil/ 'heart' is m., following U P, but f. in the sense of 'affection, feeling', cf. Si /dili/ f.

2.3 INFLEXION

Nouns are inflected for number and case according to various declensional patterns. There are two numbers, singular (sg.) and plural (pl.); and there are five cases, direct (d., dir.), oblique

(o., obl.), locative (loc.), ablative (abl.) and vocative (voc.).

Cases other than dir. and obl. are in restricted use. Use of the voc. is virtually restricted to animates, of the loc. to a quite small class of inanimate nouns denoting place or time; loc. sg. is not very common, and abl. pl. does not occur. Functions of the cases are explained in 6. 1-4, 8. 2-3.

2.3.1 Morphophonemic adjustments

Inflection of nouns is mostly characterized by the addition of vocalic case-morphemes. There is an important distinction of dialect in obl. pl. of declensions I-IV, C /-ā/ vs. S /-ē/.

The addition of case-morphemes involves certain regular morphophonemic adjustments:

- a) post-tonic /-ə-/ is dropped before all consonants:

/əorət/ > /aortā/

But post-tonic /-i- -u-/ are dropped only before /n r ŋ l/:

/dhabm/ > /dhobnī/ vs. /małik/ > /małika/

/kukur/ > /kukrē/

- b) accented /-a/ always has /-v-/ before /-ā -ē/, usually before /-o/:

/bhi'ra/ > /C bhiravā ~ S bhiravē/
 > /bhiravo ~ bhirao/

- c) unaccented /-i -e/ become /-i- -y-/:

/admi/ > /admiā/

/vərhē/ > /vərhvē/

Diphthongs ending in /-i/ are liable to phonetic realization either as /-i-/ or as /-i-/: the transcription has

/mai/ > /maiā/ vs. /lai/ > /laiā/

- d) unaccented /-ia/ becomes /-æ -iā -iē/ before /-e -ā -ē/:
/rupia/ > /rupæ/
 > /C rupiā ~ S rupiē/

- e) metathesis of /h/ in the vicinity of voiced consonants is common (1. 12. 4):

/chohır/ > /chorhī/

2.4 DECLENSIONS

Nouns are assigned, usually on formal criteria, to the different declensions: some nouns, especially those of variable gender (2.3), are inflected according to more than one declension. There are six declensions, m. nouns being assigned to I-III, f. nouns to IV-VI: declensions III and VI are restricted in membership.

2.4.1 Masculine declensions

Formal criteria for assigning m. nouns to declensions I-III are:

I m. nouns in unaccented /-a ~ (-ā ~ -ō)/

II all other m. nouns in S and standard C

III m. nouns with post-tonic /-u-/ in N and sub-standard C

a) declension I

		'dog'	'day'	'rupee'	'scorpion'	'boar'
sg.	dir. /-a (-ā-ō)/	kuta	dihara	rupia	vāthuhā	mīrhō
	obl. /-e (-ē)/	kute	dihare	rupae	vāthuhē	mīrhē
	loc. /-e (-ē)/		dihare			
	abl. /-yū/	kutyū	diharyū			
	voc. /-ya (-yā)/	kutya				
pl.	dir. /-e (-ē)/	kute	dihare	rupae	vāthuhē	mīrhē
	obl. /C-yā	kutyā	diharyā	rupiā	vāthuhyā	mīhyā
	~S-yē/	~kutyē	~diharyē	~rupiē	~vāthuhyē	~mīhyē
	loc. /-yē/		diharyē			
	voc. /-yo/	kutyo				

Loc. sg. (= o. sg. = d. pl.) and loc. pl. (= S o. pl.) are both rare.
Voc. sg. is sometimes /-a/ (= d. sg.), especially for proper names
in /-a/.

b) declension II

		'house'	'hand'	'brother'	'father'	'year'
sg. dir.		ghar	hath	bhi'ra	piu	vərhē
obl.		ghar	hath	bhi'ra	piu	vərhē
loc.		ghar				
abl. /-ū/		gharū	hathū			
voc. /-a/				bhirava	piua	
pl. dir.		ghar	hath	bhi'ra	piu	vərhē
obl. /C-ā/		gharā	hathā	bhiravā	piuā	vərhvā
~S-ē/		~gharē	~hathē	~bhiravē	~piuē	~vərhvē
loc. /-ē/		gharē	hathē			
voc. /-o/				bhiravo	piuo	

Loc. sg. (= d., o. sg. = d. pl.) is rare, but there are several common instances of loc. pl. (= S o. pl.).

c) declension III

		'cock'	'boy'	'forest'	'inside'
sg. dir. /-u-/		kukur	chohur	jahgul	andur
obl. /-ʌ-/		kukar	chohar	jahgal	andar
loc. /-i-/					andir
abl. /-ū/		kukrū	chorhū	jahglū	andrū
voc. /-a/		kukra	chorha		
pl. dir. /-ʌ-/		kukar	chohar	jahgal	
obl. /-ā/		kukrā	chorhā	jahglā	
loc. /-ē/				jahgle	
voc. /-o/		kukro	chorho		

The final consonant of nouns assigned to this declension in N and sub-standard C is normally /r ɻ l/. The distinctive loc. sg. is preserved in several specialized forms used as postpositions (2.7.1.d).

All these nouns would be assimilated to declension II in S and standard C, i.e., all nouns have d. sg. /-ʌ-/ , except those with tonic /-u- (-u-)/, which have d. sg. (= o. sg., d. pl.) /-u-/.

2.4.2 Assignment of feminine nouns

Formal criteria for assigning f. nouns to declension IV-VI are:

IV f. nouns in /-i/

V f. nouns in /-h -al -alh/, in accented /-a/, and with post-tonic /-i-/

VI only /hʌŋj ~ hʌŋjh/ 'tear' and /tʌnd/ 'fibre'

But some nouns defined as belonging to V, especially those in accented /-a/, may also follow IV.

IV is the most widely used f. declension, especially in C, and accounts for most f. nouns other than those specified above. The following classes are however assigned regularly to V:

a) names of females, especially female relatives:

/sæn/	'mistress'	/dæn/	'witch'
/bhen/	'sister'	/sen/	'child's mother-in-law'
/kɑːr/	'bride'	/sʌs/	'mother-in-law'
/sotr/	'father's brother's daughter'	/phuper/	'father's sister's daughter'
/mʌser ~ mʌsat/	'mother's brother's daughter'	/muler ~ mulver/	'mother's sister's daughter'

Names of cousins and /sen/ are inflected as II when referring to males. /nɪnəp/ 'husband's sister' is regularly assigned to IV, while three common words vary dialectally:

	<u>as IV</u>	<u>as V</u>
/ma/	C /mavā/	S /mærī ~ mærhī/ 'mother'
/dhi/	C /dhiā/	S /dhirī/ 'daughter'
/nōh/	C /nohā/	CS /horhī/ 'daughter-in-law'

The V plurals are all formed irregularly.

b) other nouns:

Regularly assigned to V in both C and S are:

/tær/	'pony'	/hil/	'kite'
/mʌŋjh/	'buffalo'	/dʌvæjh/	'bed cord'
/ʌkh/	'eye'	/rat/	'night'
/vat/	'way'	/rʌrh/	'crop'
/bar/	'corn heap'	/ʃæ/	'thing'

Some other common nouns usually follow IV in C, but V in S, including:

/kʌnʌk/	'wheat'	/fʌsʌl/	'harvest'
/cʌndh/	'corner'		

In older texts further variation between IV and V is common, either reflecting genuine forms now obsolete, or to help in meeting the exigencies of rhyme.

2.4.3 Feminine declensions

a) declension IV

		'bitch'	'daughter'	'mother'	'woman'	'mosque'
sg.	dir. = obl.	koti	dhi	ma	ʌorʌt	mʌsit
	loc. /-e/					[mʌsite]
	abl. /-ū/	kotnū	dhiū	maū	ʌortū	mʌsitū
	voc. /-a/	kotra	dhis		ʌorta	
pl.	dir. /-ā/	kutiā	C dhiā	C mavā	ʌortā	mʌsitā
	obl. /C-ā/	kutiā	dhiā	mavā	ʌortā	mʌsitā
	~S-ē/	~kutriē			~ʌortē	~mʌsitē
	loc. /-ī/					mʌsitī
	voc. /-o/	kutio	dhio	mao	ʌorto	

There is no difference between dir. and obl. in f. nouns except in S o. pl. of IV. There are distinctive forms for both loc. sg. and loc. pl., although neither are common. Voc. pl. is sometimes formed by the addition of /-o/ to the dir. pl., thus /dhiā-o/.

b) declension V

		'night'	'girl'	'daughter'	'thing'	'she-ass'
sg.	dir. = obl.	rat	chohir	dhi	šæ	gʌdēh
	loc. /-ī/	ratī				
	abl. /-ū/		chohirū	dhiū		
	voc. /-a/		chohira	dhia		
pl.	d. = o./-ī/	ratī	chorhī	S dhirī	šʌtī	gʌdhī
	loc. /-ī/	ratī				
	voc. /-ī-o/		chorhī-o	dhirī-o		

The loc. sg. is virtually obsolete. /chohir/ preserves post-tonic /-i-/ in the sg. to contrast with /chohʌr/ m. 'boy'.

c) declension VI

'tear' 'fibre'

sg. dir. = obl. hʌñj tʌnd

pl. d. = o. /-ū/ hʌñjū tʌndū

This virtually exhausts the class of declension VI nouns. While such nouns as /pilū ~ pilhū/ f. 'fruit of the jal-tree' could be regarded as belonging to declension VI, they are in fact invariables, with no corresponding sg. /hʌñjū ~ hʌñjhū/ is also sometimes used as a sg. m. noun (as in P), and is then assigned to declension II.

2.5 ADJECTIVES

As in other related languages, the distinction between nouns and adjectives is as much syntactic as formal. Adjectives are to be regarded as a specialized sub-class of nouns: most adjectives may also be used as nouns, in which case they will follow the appropriate nominal declension.

Adjectival declensions are of three types: the first inflects for gender and number, the second only for gender in the standard language, while the third is uninflected.

2.5.1 Black adjectives

To this declension are assigned all adjectives in unaccented /-a/. The m. resembles closely declension I, while the f. follows declension IV. The class is named after its typical member /kala/ 'black':

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. dir.	kala	kali
obl.	kale	kali
pl. dir.	kale	kaliā
obl.	kale	C kaliā
	~C kalyā ~ S kalyē	~S kaliē

The mas. o. pl. usually = o. sg. = d. pl. The obl. is used in concord with nouns in all cases other than dir.

2.5.1

Adjectives in unaccented /-ā/ have inflected m. /-ē/ and f. sg. /-ī/. There are further adjustments in the declension of adjectives in accented /-ea -eha/, which follow the paradigms given for /matrea/ 'step-' and /kehā/ 'of what sort?':

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. dir.	matrea	maträi	kehā	kähī
pl. dir.	maträe	matreā ~ matriā	kähē	kehā
~N maträiā				

Further reductions occur in the declension of /bea/ 'other' (2.10.a) and of monosyllabic past participles in /-ea/ (4.12).

2.5.2 'Unfast' adjectives

A very small class of adjectives, apparently distinctive of the language, is inflected only for gender. It consists of adjectives with post-tonic /-ʌ-/ , and has been named after its typical member /phiṭokar/ 'unfast, liable to run':

/phiṭokar/ m. /phiṭokir/ f.

In N and other varieties which have declension III, the m. inflects:

sg. dir. /phiṭokur/ sg. o. = pl. d. /phiṭokar/

As with nouns liable to be assigned to declension III, the final consonant is normally /r r l/ .

Adjectives in /-i/ also inflect for gender when used with an animate noun, thus /dihati chohar/ 'country boy' vs. /dihatın chohır/ 'country girl': but these too are infrequent.

2.5.3 Red adjectives

All other adjectives belong to this class, which is uninflected and is named after its typical member /la/ 'red'.

Adjectives in final accented /-a/ belong to this class, whether the accent is primary or secondary, thus /sa'fa/ 'clear', /"mubtə'la/ 'embroiled'. A few Persian loans in unaccented /-a/, such as /dana/ 'wise', may also remain uninflected as regularly in U: but many such adjectives regularly inflect throughout according to the black declension, thus /ravana ~ ravaṇna/ 'moving', /ziada/ 'more', /zinda/ 'alive'.

2.5.4 Comparative adjectives

Comparison is normally expressed by phrases involving post-positions (6.3.c). There is no true synthetic comparative form of adjectives: but the fairly common accented suffix /-'era/, added only to black adjectives, whose root-vowel is then weakened, gives the sense of 'quite, rather', sometimes with a vague comparative sense:

/chota/	'small'	/chutera/	'rather small'
/cokha/	'much, well'	/cukhera/	'a bit more, a bit better'

2.6 NUMERALS

Numerals constitute a sub-class of the adjective, formally as well as semantically differentiated. The various vertical classes of numeral—cardinals, ordinals and multiplicatives—are restricted horizontally, since the lower numerals are more fully represented than the higher.

2.6.1 Cardinals

Most of the lower cardinals distinguish dir. and obl.:

	<u>dir.</u>	<u>obl.</u>
1	h <small>ɪ</small> k	h <small>ɪ</small> k
2	C <u>d</u> u ~ S <u>d</u> ū	C <u>d</u> u ~ S <u>d</u> ū
3	træ	trī
4	car	cʌō
5	pʌñj	C pʌñjā ~ S pʌñjē
6	chi	C chihā ~ S chihē
7	s <small>ə</small> t	C s <small>ə</small> tā ~ S s <small>ə</small> tē
8	ʌ <small>θ</small> h	C ʌ <small>θ</small> hā ~ S ʌ <small>θ</small> he
9	nʌō	
10	<u>d</u> əh	C <u>d</u> əhā ~ S <u>d</u> əhē

The obl. of /nʌō/ is not in use, avoiding confusion with /nʌvā/ 'new'.

The lower cardinals (2-10) also have emphatic forms:

	<u>dir.</u>	<u>obl.</u>
'both'	<u>d</u> uhē ~ <u>d</u> v'hē ~ <u>d</u> uhāē	<u>d</u> uhā ~ <u>d</u> v'hā
'all 3'	trie ~ trai ~ tri'hē	tri'hā

'all 4'	care ~ <u>cʌrlai</u> ~ cʌ'vhē	cʌ'vhā ~ cʌvāh
'all 5'	pʌñje ~ pʌñjai ~ pʌñ'jhē	pʌñ'jhā ~ pʌñjāh
'all 6'	chihe ~ chihai	chi'hā
'all 7'	sʌte ~ sʌtai	sʌtāh
'all 8'	ʌthe ~ ʌthai	ʌthāh
'all 9'	nʌ'vhē	nʌ'vhā
'all 10'	dʌ'he	dʌ'hā

There are many variants, and many forms are unusually accented to mark emphasis and distinction from the corresponding simple forms. S has /e/ for C /a/ in the obl. forms.

Obl. forms are not in general use for the cardinals above 10. Here again there are some individual variations, but forms indicated as C or S are typical of each. Major shibboleths between C and S are the set 59- 61-8, and 99:

11	yarāh ~ yarhā	31	ikattri
12	<u>barāh</u> ~ <u>barhā</u>	32	<u>batri</u>
13	terāh ~ terhā	33	C tētri ~ S tetri
14	cʌodāh ~ cʌodhā	34	C cʌōtri ~ S cʌotri
15	pandrāh ~ pандhrā	35	C pāetri ~ S pætri
16	solāh ~ solhā	36	chatri
17	sʌtarāh ~ sʌtarhā	37	sʌtattri
18	ʌtharāh ~ ʌtharhā	38	ʌthattri
19	unvi	39	untali
20	vih	40	calhi
21	ikvi	41	iktali
22	<u>bavi</u>	42	<u>batali</u>
23	trevi	43	tirtali
24	C cʌvi ~ S covi	44	cuntali
25	pʌñjvi	45	C pātali ~ S pintali
26	chavi	46	chitali
27	sʌtavi	47	satali
28	ʌthavi	48	ʌhtali
29	unvat̪ri	49	unvat̪jha
30	trih	50	pʌñ'jah ~ pʌñ'jha

51	ıkvʌñjha	76	chihattar
52	bʌvʌñjha	77	sʌtattar
53	tırvʌñjha	78	ʌthattar
54	curʌñjha ~ curvʌñjha	79	unasi
55	pʌnvʌñjha	80	ʌsi
56	chıvʌñjha	81	ıkasi
57	sʌtvʌñjha	82	brası
58	ʌthvʌñjha	83	tırası ~ triası
59	C ʌnæth ~ S unahıth	84	curası
60	sʌt̥h	85	pʌñjası
61	C ıkæth ~ S ıkahıth	86	chıası
62	C bæth ~ S bırahıth	87	sʌtası
63	C træth ~ S triahıth	88	ʌthası
64	C cueth ~ S curahıth ~ cuhıth	89	unanve
65	C pʌñjæth ~ S pʌñjahıth	90	C nʌve ~ S nive
66	C chıæth ~ S chırahıth	91	ıkanve
67	C sʌtæth ~ S satahıth	92	bıranve
68	C ʌthæth ~ S ʌthahıth	93	trıranve ~ tıranve
69	unhattar	94	curanve
70	sʌtar	95	pʌñjanve
71	ıktattar	96	chıranve
72	bʌhättar	97	satanve
73	tıhattar	98	ʌthanve
74	cuhattar	99	C nıranve ~ S vadhanve
75	pʌñjhättar		

Numbers above 99 are expressed by compounds with:

100	SAO
1,000	hazár
100,000	lakh
10,000,000	kárór

2. 6. 2 Ordinals and multiplicatives

These all decline as black adjectives. The lower numerals have many special forms:

	<u>ordinals</u>		<u>multiplicatives</u>
'1st'	pæhla ~ pælha ~ (pʌhla ~ palha)		
'2nd'	dujha	'double'	dora
'3rd'	trijha	'3 times'	tryora
'4th'	clothā	'4 times'	cʌhɔra
'5th'	pʌñjvā ~ pʌñjvhā	'5 times'	pʌñjɔra
'6th'	chevhā	'6 times'	chiora
'7th'	sʌtvā ~ sʌtvhā	'7 times'	satora
'8th'	ʌthvā	'8 times'	ʌthora
'9th'	navā		
'10th'	dʌhvā	'10 times'	dʌhora

Higher multiplicatives must be formed on the pattern of /nəo sʌmā/ '9 times'. Higher ordinals are formed by the addition of /-vhā/ to the cardinal, or /-vā/ after a preceding aspirate (1. 12. 6). Only the following ordinals, some of which show change of accent, need be noted:

'11th'	yarhvā
'19th'	un'vivhā
'20th'	vivhā ~ vihvā
'40th'	cʌ'livhā
'50th'	pʌñ'javhā
'80th'	ʌ'sivhā
'100th'	sʌvhā ~ sʌ'vivhā

Only the ordinals of round numbers above '40th' are in common use: there is no ordinal corresponding to /nəve/ '90'.

2. 6. 3 Fractionals

These are of two classes:

a) absolute fractionals

$\frac{1}{4}$	cuthai	$1\frac{1}{2}$	dɪd̥h
$\frac{1}{3}$	trihai	$2\frac{1}{2}$	ʌdhai ~ dhai
$\frac{1}{2}$	ʌdh		

/ਅਧਾ/ 'half' is an adjective. With quantities only, two other fractionals are in use: /ਪਾ ਮਾਨੁ/ ' $\frac{1}{4}$ maund', /ਮੁਨਾ ਸੇਰ/ ' $\frac{3}{4}$ ser'. Lower fractions must be expressed with the ordinal, as /ਪਾਂਜਵਾਂ ਹਿੱਸਾ/ 'one fifth'.

b) modifying fractionals

These are only employed before cardinals:

+ $\frac{1}{4}$ ਸਾਵਾ

+ $\frac{1}{2}$ ਸਾਡੇ

- $\frac{1}{4}$ ਪਾਂਧੇ

/ਸਾਵਾ/, /ਦਿਨਾਂ/ and /ਅਧਾਈ ~ ਧਾਈ/ are used with the higher cardinals /ਸਾਂਤ੍ਰਿਕ ਲਾਖ ਕਾਰੋਂ/ in such phrases as /ਸਾਵਾ ਸਾਂਤ੍ਰਿਕ/ '125', /ਦਿਨਾਂ ਲਾਖ/ '1500' or /ਅਧਾਈ ਕਾਰੋਂ/ '25 million'.

2.7 POSTPOSITIONS

There are various types of postposition (ppn.). Postpositions also differ in the ways in which they are attached to the noun which they modify in a nominal phrase.

2.7.1 Types of postposition

a) adjectival postpositions

This is a very restricted class. All except /ਜਿਤੀ/ decline as black adjectives:

/ਦਾ/ 'of, 's'

/ਯੋਗਾ/ '-able'

/ਸਾਵਾ/ '-like'

/ਵਾਲਾ ~ ਅਲਾ/ (various meanings)

/ਜ਼ਹਾਂ/ '-like'

/ਯੇਦਾ/ 'as big as'

/ਜਿਤਾ ~ ਜਿਤਨਾ/ 'as much as'

/ਜਿਤੀ/ 'as many as'

b) true postpositions

These are not used except as ppns. and are indeclinable. The commonest members of this very restricted class are:

/ਕੁ/	'to'	/C do ~ S de ~ do/	'towards'
------	------	--------------------	-----------

/ਕਾਨ ~ ਕੋਲ/	'in possession of'	/te/	'on'
-------------	--------------------	------	------

/C ਕਾਨੂ ~ S ਕਾਨੇ/	'from'	/ic/	'in'
-------------------	--------	------	------

/ਲਾ/	'during'	/tū/	'from'
------	----------	------	--------

c) ppns. formed from nouns

These are specialized uses of the obl. case of certain nouns, including:

/pasa/	'direction'	> /pase/	'towards'
/taraf/	'direction'	/taraf/	'towards'
/kar/	'form'	/kar/	'like'

d) ppn./adverbs

These function as ppns. in nominal phrases, as adverbs with verbal phrases (3.4.d). This is a large class, and includes many items representing the specialized use of the obl. (or loc.) of certain nouns. Some common members are:

/äge/	'before'	/piche/	'behind'
/te/	'above'	/tale ~ heth/	'below'
/andır/	'inside'	/bæhir ~ bəhər/	'outside'
/pæhle ~ pælhe/	'before'	/bad/	'after'

Some ppns. in /-e/ are sometimes used with the accented 'comparative' suffix /'-ere/ (cf. 2.5.4), thus /äge-/ 'a little before'.

e) ablative ppns.

Abl. forms in /-ū/ are commonly derived from all types of ppn. other than adjectival ppns. Post-tonic centralized vowels are dropped before /-ū/, and final /-e/ yields /-ū/, not /-yū/ as might be expected from the abl. sg. of declension I.

The addition of /-ū/ normally gives an abl. sense:

/ic ~ vic/	'in'	/icū ~ vicū/	'from in, among'
/pase/	'towards'	/pasū/	'from the direction of'
/tale/	'below'	/talū/	'from below'
/andır/	'inside'	/andrū/	'from inside'

A similar sense is sometimes conveyed by the use of /kanū/ 'from':

/la/	'during'	> /la kanū/	'since'
------	----------	-------------	---------

The abl. form is not, however, always confined to an abl. sense. It sometimes acts as an alternative to the simple form, while retaining an abl. sense in other contexts:

/kol ~ kolū/ 'beside'	/kolū/	'from beside, from'
/äge ~ ägū/ 'before'	/ägū/	'from before'
/bæir ~ barhū/ 'outside'	/barhū/	'from outside'

In some cases the abl. form functions only as an alternative to the simple form, thus /pæhle ~ pæhlū/ 'before', /bajh ~ bajhū/ 'without': in others it has come to replace the simple form, as in /vāg > vāgū/ 'like'. Some ppns. in /-ū/ have no corresponding simple form, e.g., /mutū/ 'without', /parū/ 'for the sake of'.

2.7.2 Constructions of postpositions

Postpositions are so called because they normally follow the noun which they modify. Several different constructions are possible:

a) ppns. always following a noun or pronoun in obl.

These include the adjectival ppns. /da vala ~ ala/ and the true ppns. /kū do ~ de ~ do te ic la tū/.

b) ppns. following an obl. noun + /de/ or an obl. possessive pronoun

This includes most other ppns., all of which may also follow construction a). But ppns. derived from fem. nouns will have /di/ for /de/, thus /tarāh ~ di tarāh/ 'like': /kar/ is usually constructed with /vala/, as /vali kar ~ ali kar/ 'like'.

c) ppns. following an obl. noun, pronoun or possessive pronoun + /tū ~ kanū ~ kolū/ 'from', or an abl. noun or pronoun

These include /pæhle/ 'before', /bæhir/ 'outside', /pære/ 'beyond', /mutū/ 'without' and their semantic equivalents: all of these may also follow constructions a) or b).

d) 'pre-postpositions'

These may precede the word they modify which will then be obl. + /de/. There are very few ppns. in this class, the commonest being /bʌgær ~ bñ ~ bññ/ 'without' and /mare/ 'because of'.

2.8 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Pronouns form a closed class of high-frequency items, having distinctive patterns of inflexion. There are four personal pronouns

only, and a reflexive pronoun which may refer to any person: for the third person the demonstratives are normally used (2.9.1). Pronominal suffixes, used enclitically with verbs, are however found for all three persons: these are discussed in Chapter 5.

2.8.1 Declension of personal pronouns

The four personal pronouns express 1sg., 2sg., 1pl. and 2pl. Their declension is distinguished by the formation of cases other than dir. and obl.: these are the possessive (pos.), directional (dnl.), and the dative-accusative (d-ac.). These cases are formed by the addition of postpositional endings to a modified stem:

	<u>1sg.</u>	<u>2sg.</u>	<u>1pl.</u>	<u>2pl.</u>
dir.	māe	tū	ʌsā	tusā
obl.	māe	tā ~ N tāō	ʌsā	tusā
pos.	C māda ~ S medā	C tāda ~ S teda	sada ~ ʌsāda	twhada ~ [tusada]
dnl.	C mādo ~ S medō	C tādo ~ S tedō	sado ~ ʌsādo	twhado ~ [tusado]
d-ac.	C mākū ~ S mekū	C tākū ~ S tekū	sakū ~ ʌsakū	twhakū ~ [tusakū]

a) The variant stems are dialectal alternatives in 1sg. and 2sg., in free variation in 1pl., while 2pl./tusa-/ is now obsolete. All stems are characterized by loss of nasalization.

b) The ending of d-ac. is the ppn. /kū/ 'to', while pos. and dnl. endings are modifications of /da/ 'of' and C /do/ 'towards'. Obsolete forms of pos. found in older poetry are cited in 9.3.5.

c) Other cases analogous with d-ac. are sometimes encountered, but analytic forms with separate ppn. are more frequent, thus /mækān ~ māe kān/ 'with me', /mækānū ~ māe kānū/ 'from me'.

d) Emphatic forms of the dir. and obl. involve contractions with the emphatic particle /i/ (1.11.2), thus dir. /mʌi tū ʌsʌi tusʌi/: the only distinctive obl. is 2sg. /tʌi/.

e) A distinctive form of 1pl. is used in the area around Bahawalpur City:

d. = o. apā

pos. apā da ~ apā

This is also found in Malvai P: it is not to be confused with the reflexive pronoun.

2.8.2 Reflexive pronoun

This has a quite distinct pattern of inflexion:

d. = o.	ap
pos.	apna ~ ḥpna
d-ac.	apne ap kū
loc. pl.	apat ic

There is also an emphatic form of d./o., /ape/.

2.9 SIMPLE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS

The set of six simple correlative pronouns comprises the proximate and remote demonstratives, the interrogative, relative, correlative and indefinite pronouns. These share a common pattern of declension, having one form for dir. (sg. and pl.), but distinctive forms for o. sg. and o. pl.: true postpositional cases are less used than with the personal pronouns.

2.9.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The two demonstratives, especially the remote, are very commonly used as personal pronouns for 3sg. and 3pl. Their inflexion is parallel throughout:

	<u>proximate</u>	<u>remote</u>
sg. dir.	e	o
obl.	ī ~ hī ~ īh	ū ~ hū ~ ūh
pos.	īda	ūda
d-ac.	ikū ~ ī kū	ukū ~ ū kū
pl. dir.	e	o
obl.	C inhā ~ S inhē ~ hinē	C unhā ~ S unhē ~ hunē
pos.	C inhakū ~ inhā kū	C unhakū ~ unhā kū

a) o. sg. /hī hū/ are perhaps more characteristic of S than C, and are slightly emphatic, but less so than /īh ūh/. In educated colloquial speech U /is vs/ are commonly used as alternatives for the o. sg., especially in a neuter sense: the distinction may also be made by the use of obl. + ppn. in contrast to obl. of pos. + ppn., thus /is vaste ~ ī vaste/ 'for this (reason), so' vs. /ide vaste/ 'for this (person), for him'.

2. 9. 1

b) pos. sg. forms are single words, but the corresponding pl. forms are analysed as two, thus /m̥hā da/: d-ac. is either two words, or one (with loss of nasalization), in both sg. and pl. (1.11.2).

c) The distinction C /-ā/ vs. S /-ē/ in o. pl. is analogous with that in declensions I-IV. S also has o. pl. /m̥haē ~ hmaē unhaē ~ hunaē/.

d) S has another pair of demonstratives, /eba oba/. These have a strong deictic sense, as 'this one over here, that one over there', but are also used as third-person pronouns. They decline as black adjectives.

2. 9. 2 Interrogative, relative and correlative pronouns

These three follow an identical paradigm. The correlative pronoun, though frequent in older poetry, is now obsolete:

	<u>interrogative</u>	<u>relative</u>	<u>correlative</u>
sg. dir.	klaon	kia	jo [so]
obl.	kæ	jæ	[tæ]
pos.	C kæda ~ S kæda	C jæda ~ S jæda	[C tæda]
d-ac.	C kækū ~ S kekū	C jækū ~ S jekū ~ kæ kū	[tæ kū]
pl. dir.	klaon	jo	[so]
obl.	C kinhā ~ S kinhē	C jinhā ~ S jinhē	[C tinhā ~ S tinhē]

a) /kia/ is neuter, 'what?', and has replaced older /[cʌ]/.

b) U /kis jis/ are often employed in a neuter sense in o. sg., like /is us/. Obsolete forms of o. sg. include neuter interrogative /kith/ and the emphatic forms, commonly found in older poetry, /jʌhī tʌhī/.

c) S also has o. pl. /kinhāē jinhāē/. The pos. pl. will be written as two words, the d-ac. pl. as one or as two, thus C /kinhakū ~ kinhā kū/.

2. 9. 3 Indefinite pronoun

The paradigm is rather different from the above:

sg. dir.	[koi] > koi (m.)	[kai] > kai (f.)	kujh
obl.	kʌhī		
pl. dir.	[kei] > kai		
obl.	C kinhā ~ S kinhē ~ kinhāē		

a) The vowel alternation in obsolete forms of dir. still characterizes some emphatic pronouns (2. 10. c). The distinction of gender in dir. sg. is often confused in modern colloquial speech in favour of /kvi/, probably in imitation of U P which have only /koi/. /kvjh/ is neuter, 'something'.

b) o. sg. /kʌhī/ is to be compared with older emphatic /jʌhī tʌhī/: o. pl. is identical with the interrogative. [Elsewhere, too, indefinites are formally closely related to interrogatives (3. 2).] The o. pl. /kʌiā/ has the sense of 'many'.

2. 10 OTHER PRONOUNS

Three further classes of pronoun are to be distinguished on the basis of their inflexion:

a) /bea/ 'other'

This is a pronominal adjective declined as a black adjective in /-ea/ (2. 5. 1), but with o. pl. like that of the simple correlative pronouns:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. dir.	C <u>bea</u> ~ S <u>bia</u>	C <u>bʌi</u> ~ S <u>bi</u>
obl.	C <u>bæ</u> ~ S <u>be</u>	C <u>bʌi</u> ~ S <u>bi</u>
pl. dir.	C <u>bæ</u> ~ S <u>be</u>	C <u>beā</u> ~ N <u>bʌiā</u> ~ S <u>biā</u>
obl.		C <u>bɪnhā</u> ~ S <u>bɪnhē</u> ~ <u>bɪnhaē</u>
d-ac.		C <u>bɪnhakū</u> ~ <u>bɪnhā kū</u>

b) /yʌka/ 'whole, all' is another pronominal adjective, regularly declined as a black adjective, but with the pronominal o. pl. /C yʌknā ~ S yʌknē ~ yʌknāē/. /sʌbh/ 'all' and /hik/ 'some', otherwise uninflected, have a similar o. pl.: C forms are /sʌbhñā hɪkñā/.

c) emphatics

Emphatic forms of /sʌbh/ and /hik/, and the emphatic demonstratives /iho/ 'this very' and /vwho/ 'that very' have a common pattern of vowel alternation in dir. like that of obsolete forms of the indefinite pronoun. The emphatic demonstratives also have distinctive forms in the o. sg.:

sg. dir.	<u>mas.</u>	sʌbho	hiko	iho	vwho
	<u>fem.</u>	sʌbha	hika	iha	vha
obl.		sʌbhe	hike	iħī	vħī
pl. dir.		sʌbhe	hike	ihe	vhe

For the o. pl. simple forms with emphatic /i/ are used.

2.11 CORRELATIVE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVE SETS

There are a number of correlative sets of pronominal adjectives, whose members are distinguished by their initial sounds as:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| 1) proximate demonstrative | in /e- i-/ |
| 2) remote demonstrative | in /o- u-/ |
| 3) correlative | in /te- ti-/ |
| 4) relative | in /je- ji-/ |
| 5) interrogative | in /ke- ki-/ |

Since the correlative members are now obsolete, and used only in set phrases and compounds, they are omitted from the list of sets in active use:

a)	[erha]	jerha ~ jerha	kerha ~ kerha	'which?'	
b)		jheā ~ jehā	kehā ~ kihā	'like what?'	
c)		jejheā	kejheā	'like what?'	
d)	ejhā	ojhā	jejhā	kejhā	'like what?'
e)	eda		jeda	keda	'how big?'
f)	ejeta	ojeda		kejeda	'how big?'
g)	itvā	utvā	jitvā	kītvā ~ kīnvā	'which?'
h)	itla	utla	jitla	kītla	'how much?'
i)	itna	utna	jitna	kītna	'how much?'
j)	iti	uti	jiti	kīti	'how many?'

Meanings are given for the interrogative. /jheā/ and the other relatives /jeda ... jiti/ may also be adjectival postpositions (2.7.1.a), and give rise to further sets when used with pronouns, thus /i jheā/ 'like this'.

/[erha]/ is obsolete, but /jerha ~ jerha/ is very common as an equivalent of the relative pronoun /jo/, as is /kerha ~ kerha/ of the interrogative /kaon/.

Sets b), c) and d) are of equivalent meaning: so too are sets e) and f). Set g) implies an ordinal, and only the interrogative is common, in the sense of 'which, in order of number?'.

Sets h) and i) are also equivalent, although the latter, presumably a loan from U, is less frequent in the plural sense of 'how many?'. Only set j) is indeclinable, and there is a variant with /-ē/ for /-i/: this is characteristic of the trans-Indus area.

2.12 COMPOUND PRONOUNS

Many compound pronouns involve the use of a relative as first member:

/jo kvi ~	'whoever'	/jo kujh/	'whatever'
jerha kvi/			
/jiti kitī/	'however much'	/jejhā tejhā/	'of whatever kind'
Indefinite pronouns may be reduplicated with intervening /nʌ/:			
/kvi nʌ kvi/	'someone or other'	/kujh nʌ kujh/	'something or other'

Indefinites are also common as the second member of compound pronouns after pronominal adjectives:

/bea kvi/	'someone else'	/bea kujh/	'something else'
/hʌr kvi/	'everyone'	/sʌbho kujh/	'everything'
/sʌbh kvi/	'everyone'	/itla kujh/	'as much as this'

Both elements decline where possible in all compound pronouns.

CHAPTER 3

PARTICLES

3.1 WORD CLASSES

Particles constitute a residual class of words which can be treated neither under the heading of the noun above nor of the verb below. The category broadly corresponds to that denoted in traditional local grammar as *harf* as opposed to *ism* (noun) and *fe'l* (verb). In traditional western terms four types of particle can be distinguished:

- a) adverbs, used as extensions of either nominal or verbal phrases, and themselves comprising a number of sub-classes (3. 2-4)
- b) emphatic particles, a small category, most of which are enclitics (3. 5)
- c) conjunctions, which articulate sentences and clauses as well as individual words and phrases (3. 6)
- d) interjections, which often stand outside the sentence structure altogether (3. 7)

Most particles are uninflected, and the following treatment is therefore largely confined to cataloguing the principal members of each type, whose syntactic functions are discussed in later chapters.

3.2 CORRELATIVE ADVERB SETS

A central core-set of true adverbs is made up of a number of sets whose members are distinguished by the same kind of initial alternation as that described for the correlative pronominal adjective sets (2.11). Some members of the correlative set in /t-/ are in common use, and there are many emphatic forms, distinguished by aspiration, change of accent, or both: emphatic forms of the interrogative set in /k-/ are specialized as indefinite.

There are large number of horizontal sets in use, and meanings are given for the last item of each:

adverbs of time

- | | | | | |
|----------|------|------|------|---------|
| a) [wʌn] | tʌn | jʌn | kʌn | 'when?' |
| b) | tədə | jədə | kədə | 'when?' |

c)	<u>tʌdāh</u>		<u>kʌdāh</u>	'ever'
d)	<u>tʌdahī</u>		<u>kʌdahī</u>	'ever'
e)	<u>tʌdū</u>	<u>jʌdū</u>	<u>kʌdū</u>	'when?'
f) e	<u>tʌtī</u>	<u>je tʌtī</u>	<u>ke tʌtī</u>	'till when?'
o	<u>tʌtī</u>			

All relative adverbs in /j-/ may of course be analysed as conjunctions. Sets a) and b) are in free variation, while set e) is S. Sets c) and d) are also in free variation: the correlative members in /t-/ are emphatic, with the sense of 'at that very time, right then', while the pair in /k-/ are specialized as indefinites. The use of correlative forms in /t-/ in all these sets to the exclusion of the elsewhere now general demonstrative forms is noteworthy.

In set f) /tʌtī/ 'till' may be freely replaced by /toni/ 'till'. The set contrasts with the use of these ppns. with the demonstrative pronouns, thus /o tʌtī/ 'till then' vs. /u tʌtī/ 'till that, to him'.

adverbs of place

g) ith	uth	jith	kith	'where?'
h) ithā	uthā	jithā	kithā	'where?'
i) ithahī	uthahī	[jithahī]	kithahī	'wherever'
j) ithū	uthū	jithū	kithū	'whence?'
k) ithahū	uthahū	[jithahū]	kithahū	'from anywhere'
l) in	un		[kn̩]	'whither?'
m) inte	unte	jinte	kinte	'whither?'
n) ede ~ idē	ode ~ udē	jede ~ jidē	kede ~ kide	'whither?'
o) [idahī]	[udahī]	[jidahī]	kidahī	'to anywhere'
p) inū	unū	jinū	kinū	'whence?'
q) edū	odū	jedū	kedū	'whence?'

Correlative adverbs of place in /t-/ are now quite obsolete, although they are encountered in the older poetry. Sets i), k) and o) are emphatic, with the form in /k-/ specialized as an indefinite: forms without intervocalic /h/ are in free variation with those listed, thus /thahī ~ thaī/ 'right here'. It would be possible to designate sets l), m), p) as C vs. S n), q), but there is in practice much mutual borrowing.

The abl. sets in /-ū/, j), p) and q), are also often employed as alternatives to simple sets without /-ū/ with a following ppn., thus /ithū la kanū uthū tāī/ 'from here to there'.

adverbs of manner

- r) ī ū 'thus'
 s) ivē uvē [tivē] jivē kivē 'how?'
 t) krvhē 'somehow'
 u) krū 'why?'

Set s) is commoner than the incomplete r), while there are no other members of set u).

3.2.1 Compound correlative adverbs

These horizontal sets are further extended by the use of two adverbs, usually of the same set, to form compounds. These are of similar type to the compound pronouns (2.12):

a) proximate demonstrative + remote demonstrative:

/ithā uthā/ 'here and there' /inte unte/ 'all round'

b) relative + correlative:

/jivē tivē/ 'somehow or
other'

c) relative + interrogative:

/jithā kithā/ 'wherever' /jede kede/ 'whithersoever'

d) relative + indefinite:

/jʌdā kʌdahī/ 'whenever'

e) indefinite + /nʌ/ + indefinite:

/kithahī nʌ	'somewhere'	/krvhē nʌ	'somehow or other'
kithahī/	or other'	krvhē/	

f) pronominal adjective + indefinite:

/bea kithahī/ 'somewhere else'

3.2.2 Correlative adverbial phrase sets

Many additional horizontal sets are formed with the appropriate pronoun modifying a noun in obl. (loc.) sg., with or without following ppn.: many of these adverbial phrases are in such common use that they deserve listing as separate items. The correlative pronoun is not used in these sets, and the pronominal adjectives /jerha kerha/ often replace the relative and interrogative pronouns. Very commonly used sets are:

- ī vele ū vele jerhe vele kerhe vele kahī vele 'sometime'
 ī jah te ū jah te jerhi jah te kerhi jah te kahī jah te 'at some place'

<i>i pase</i>	<i>ū pase</i>	<i>jerhe pase</i>	<i>kerhe pase</i>	<i>kahī pase</i>	'in some direction'
<i>i tarāh</i>	<i>ū tarāh</i>	<i>jæ tarāh</i>	<i>kæ tarāh</i>	<i>kahī tarāh</i>	'in some way'

The first set, equivalent in meaning to the simple adverbs of time (3. 2 a-e), is particularly common, and liable to contraction, thus in effect yielding a fresh simple set in colloquial usage: cf. /jerhle ~ jele/ 'when', /kerhle/ 'when?'.

3.3 NEGATIVE ADVERBS

This important class has only two basic members:

/nʌ/	'not'	/nhī ~ nī/	'not'
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Besides the free variants /nhī ~ nī/ there is an emphatic form /nʌhī/.

The selection of /nʌ/ or /nhī ~ nī/ is determined by the form of the verb with which they are used, and rules are explained under the appropriate headings below (4. 14-16).

Both negative adverbs are frequently strengthened by the prefixes /koi- ~ kæ-/ which are cognate with the indefinite pronoun (2. 9. 3). /kənʌ ~ kənhī ~ kənī/ are much commoner than /koīnʌ ~ koīnhī ~ koīnī/, and the contrast between them is now rather one of emphasis, the rarer forms being the more emphatic, than one of concord, as would be suggested by analogy with the older forms of the indefinite pronoun, /koī/ m. vs. /kai/ f.

3.4 OTHER ADVERBS

Many types of word, especially adjectives and certain forms of the verb, are freely used as adverbs (6. 4; 7. 12). In addition to these and to the types of adverb already listed there are several other classes of word which are to a greater or less degree specialized as adverbs:

a) true adverbs

These are words used only as adverbs. Important members of this very restricted class are:

/ʌj/	'to-day'	/ʌjā ~ ʌjan/	'still, yet'
/kʌlh/	'yesterday'	/kʌlatthū/	'day before yesterday'
/hun/	'now'	/hune/	'just now'
/sʌda/	'always'	/hamešā/	'always'

/bʌhū/	'very'	/sɪrəf/	'only'
/həole/	'slowly'	/mʌsā/	'hardly'
/C hərū bhərū		/əcacet/	'suddenly'
~ S haro bhəro/	'willy nilly'	/əbʌrgut/	'suddenly'

b) specialized nominal forms

Some adverbs represent specialized uses of the loc. or abl. of certain nouns:

/[orʌk]/	'end'	> /orik/	'in the end, at last'
/sabah/	'morning'	/səbahī ~ səbhaī/	'to-morrow'
/savel/	'good time'	/səvele/	'in good time, early'
/ʌsəl/	'root'	/ʌslū/	'altogether'
/mundh/	'root'	/mundhū/	'altogether'

The use of specialized pronominal forms is much more restricted, but from the obsolete correlative pronoun is derived the still active /təhī ~ təhū/ 'for this reason'.

c) specialized verbal forms

The catenative participle of some verbs (4.9.1), corresponding to the verbal root, has a specialized meaning as an adverb. The commonest of such adverbs are:

/ghət-/	'lessen'	> /ghət/	'less'
/vʌdh-/	'increase'	/vʌdh/	'more'
/vəl-/	'return'	/vəl/	'then, again'
/vət-/	'wander'	/vət/	'then'

d) ppn./adverbs

These function as ppns. in nominal phrases, as adverbs with verbal phrases (2.7.1.d). Ppn./adverbs in /-e/ may have the accented 'comparative' suffix /'-ere/ in their adverbial as well as their postpositional uses. They also have emphatic forms, but only when used as adverbs, thus:

<u>ppn./adverb</u>	<u>adverb (emphatic)</u>
/äge/	/ağā te ~ ağāh te/
/piche/	/pichā te/

/pʌre/	/pʌrhā te/	'beyond'
/vre/	/vrhā te/	'on this side'

3.5 EMPHATIC PARTICLES

These are mostly enclitics, following the word or phrase to which they impart emphasis. The emphasis is realized prosodically in speech by the raising of the pitch of the tonic syllable of the word chiefly emphasized (8.7).

The simple emphatic particle is /i ~ [hi]/, an enclitic which may occur freely in association with nominal or verbal phrases or any part of these. In a few restricted sets of words the emphatic enclitic has become an integral part of the word, involving a transfer of accent (1.11.2).

Other emphatic particles include /vi/ 'also, too', /tā ~ tā/ 'then, so', the sentence-final /nā/ 'n'est-ce pas?', and the verbal emphatics /ca hā/. The functions of these and other emphatic particles are best discussed in the context of the sentence (8.7.2).

3.6 CONJUNCTIONS

Two classes of conjunction are to be distinguished:

a) co-ordinating conjunctions

These may link words, phrases or sentences. They are few in number, but of correspondingly high frequency:

/te ~ təte/	'and'	/ya ~ (ja)/	'or'
/par/	'but'		

The first of these varies as /tē ~ tətē/ in the trans-Indus area. Other co-ordinating conjunctions regularly appear before each member of a linked pair:

/ya .. ya .. /	'either .. or ..'	/ha .. na .. /	'neither .. nor ..'
/kia ..	'whether ..		

kia .. /

or ..'

Synonyms for the last of these include /bhavē .. bhavē .., cāhe .. cāhe .., hike .. hike .., xvah .. xvah .. ~ xh .. xh .. /.

b) subordinating conjunctions

These link only sentences (clauses), not words or phrases, and their function is discussed more fully below (8.8.2-3). The commonest subordinating conjunction is /jo/ 'that', sometimes replaced in educated speech and in writing by U /ke/ 'that': this

alternation gives rise to some other common pairs, such as /kiūjo ~ kiūke/ 'because', /tājo ~ tāke/ 'so that'. Other types of subordinate clause are introduced by /bhʌl ~ balke/ 'rather', /mʌtā ~ mʌbada/ 'lest', /jʌne ~ yani/ 'that is', /nhī tā/ 'otherwise', and a few others.

Pairs of conjunctions are very commonly employed to introduce parallel clauses of which the first is subordinated to the second, thus:

/je ~ jekʌr, tā/	'if ..., (then)'
/tɔr̥e jo, val vi/	'although ..., (even so)'

/je ~ jekʌr̥/ also has an emphatic variant /jekʌrahī/ and in educated speech may be replaced by U /ʌgar̥/: /tɔr̥e jo/ may similarly be replaced by U /ʌgar̥ce/. All relative adverbs in /j-/ (2.2) may function as the first members of such pairs.

3.7 INTERJECTIONS

Two classes call for special mention:

a) interjections of affirmation and negation

These may be ranked in ascending order of courtesy as:

/ha jiha = U hā ji/	'yes'
/nʌhī = nʌtī nʌ C ko/	'no'

/ko/ is distinctively C, and is normally used in the sense of 'no, sorry, I haven't': the final vowel is markedly short and open. /nʌ/ 'no' may be strengthened as /koɪnʌ ~ kænʌ/ (3.3).

b) vocative interjections

These may be used with nouns in the voc. The commonest are the respectable /æ/ 'o!' and the vulgar /oe/ 'hey', while in rustic speech there is a complete set for gender: a man using /vo/ to a man, /nī/ to a woman, while a woman uses /ve/ to a man and /vʌn/ ~ vane/ to a woman.

Most interjections stand outside the structure of the sentence, and a complete inventory is appropriate to a dictionary, not to a grammar. Other interjections include nouns used in specialized senses, e.g., /šukur/ 'thanks be to God!', and common Islamic phrases like /bismillah/ 'in the name of God', as well as such 'true' interjections as /sala ~ kaš/ 'would that', /hae hae/ 'alas!', /oho/ 'o dear!', /šabas/ 'bravo!'. Some such interjections are on the borderline between words and special noises, e.g., /phurr/ 'fly away!' (to birds), /hušš/ 'sit down!' (to camels).

CHAPTER 4

THE VERB

4.1 VERBAL INFLEXION

The verb is distinguished from the noun by a much more complex system of inflexion. While many features of this system are quite widely shared with neighbouring languages, the closest parallels are with Si, notably in the regular formation of passive as well as causative stems (4.5), in the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in the present and the future (4.6), in the maintenance of the distinction between infinitive and gerundive (4.8), in the retention of many irregular past participles (4.12-13), and particularly in the extensive use of pronominal suffixes with verbal forms (Chapter 5). Other features are distinct even from Si, however: these include the formation of the future (4.14.5), and the treatment of the present auxiliary (4.15; 5.6).

The complexity of the inflexion of the verb necessarily involves much cross-referencing in the following exposition, which deals in linear order with the formation of roots and stems (4.2-6), the addition of morphemes (4.7) to form verbal nouns and participles (4.8-13) as well as some tenses (4.14), the auxiliary verb (4.15) and the derived periphrastic tenses (4.16). Forms with pronominal suffixes are dealt with in Chapter 5, and compound verbal phrases more complex than the pattern negator + verb + auxiliary + suffix in Chapter 7.

4.2 ROOTS

The root is an idealized form of the verbal base to which inflectional morphemes may be directly added, or which may be modified to produce various secondary stems to which morphemes are then added.

Roots are either monosyllabic or disyllabic, the great majority being monosyllabic. This distinction cuts across the primary division of formal types of root into three classes, each entailing different patterns of modification when inflected.

4. 2. 1

4. 2. 1 Vowel-roots

a) monosyllabic

Only the four peripheral vowels /a i e o/ seem to occur, as exemplified by:

/kha-/	'eat'	/pi-/	'drink'
/de-/	'give'	/po-/	'fall'

Nasalized vowels are possible, thus /gā-/ 'sing': and the single root ending in a semi-vowel /bhāv-/ 'turn' is also to be assigned to this class.

b) disyllabic

While few roots belong to this class, it includes all derived stems. Only final accent is possible:

/kʌ'ma-/	'earn'	/sʌ'mo-/	'gather'
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4. 2. 2 /h/-roots

These are intermediate between vowel- and consonant-roots in terms of the inflectional system. All are monosyllabic:

/rʌh-/	'remain, live'	/pih-/	'grind'
/leh-/	'lick'	/druh-/	'drag'
/doh-/	'milk'		

4. 2. 3 Consonant-roots

a) monosyllabic

Most roots end in a single consonant:

/likh-/	'write'	/dekh-/	'see'
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Only combinations of consonants admitted as final clusters (1. 9. 3) may occur, and these only after centralized vowels:

/mutr-/	'urinate'	/limb-/	'plaster'
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b) disyllabic

Only single final consonants are possible, and the commonest consonants are /r r l/. Two sub-types are to be distinguished, of which the first has initial accent and post-tonic /-ʌ-/:

/bʌl-/	'boil'	/pʌkʌr-/	'seize'
/visʌr-/	'forget'	/visʌm-/	'be extinguished'
/samʌjh-/	'understand'		

The second type has an accented peripheral vowel in the second syllable:

/v'bal-/	'boil'	/mʌ'rɔr-/	'twist'
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4.3 INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE ROOT PAIRS

The semantic distinction between intransitive (intr.) and transitive (tr.) verbs is reflected in differences both of inflexion (4.6, 5.3) and of construction (8.3). There are also several sets of formally linked intr. and tr. root pairs. These sets are closed, since the processes which gave rise to the pairs are no longer active:

- a) intr. with centralized vowel; tr. with peripheral vowel

The correspondences are as noted in 1.2:

/mar-/	'die'	/mar-/	'kill'
/mil-/	'meet'	/mel-/	'join'
/tur-/	'go'	/tor-/	'drive'

Disyllabic consonant-roots exhibit a change of accent:

/v <u>b</u> al-/	'boil'	/v' <u>bal</u> -/	'boil'
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Vowel-transfer is also involved in the two types illustrated by:

/nɪkh <u>ar</u> -/	'be separated'	/nʌ'kher-/	'separate'
/ukh <u>ar</u> -/	'be unravelled'	/ʌ'khor-/	'unravel'

- b) alteration of final consonant

/bh <u>ʌj</u> -/	'break'	/bh <u>ʌn</u> -/	'break'
/jap-/	'be known'	/jan-/	'know'

With change of vowel:

/bu <u>d</u> -/	'be drowned'	/bor-/	'drown'
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- c) loss of final consonant in tr.

/khaj-/	'be eaten'	/kha-/	'eat'
/sip-/	'be sewn'	/si-/	'sew'

With change of vowel:

/t <u>ʌp</u> -/	'be hot'	/ta-/	'heat'
/dhuk-/	'arrive'	/dho-/	'convey'

Vowel-roots can only be paired in this pattern, or in a few anomalous pairs:

/a-/	'come'	/an-/	'bring'
/po-/	'lie'	/pa-/	'put'

Sometimes there is no formal linkage, merely a close semantic opposition between intr. and tr., thus:

/nikʌl-/	'go out'	/kʌdh-/	'remove'
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4.4 CAUSATIVE STEMS

Most roots may be extended by the addition of accented /-'a/ to form the simple causative stem, or accented /-'va/ to form the double causative. The transfer of the accent to the causative extensions entails weakening of the root by the reduction of peripheral to centralized vowels. Patterns of causative formation are governed by the root type (4.2):

a) vowel-roots

Only the double causative of monosyllabic roots is used:

/kha-/	'eat'	/khʌva-/
/ji-/	'live'	/jiva-/
/de-/	'give'	/diva-/

In two patterns /v/ may be omitted in the double causative:

/po-/	'lie'	/puva- ~ pua-/
/bhʌv-/	'turn'	/bhʌva- ~ bhvā-/

b) /h-/roots and monosyllabic consonant-roots

Both simple and double causatives are possible:

/lʌh-/	'descend'	/lʌha-/	/lʌhva-/
/kʌr-/	'do'	/kʌra-/	/kʌrvə-/
/bhej-/	'send'	/bhɪja-/	/bhɪjva-/
/gol-/	'search'	/gʊla-/	/gʊlva-/

c) disyllabic consonant-roots

Post-tonic /-ʌ-/ is lost in the simple causative:

/pʌkʌr-/	'seize'	/pʌkra-/	/pʌkʌrvə-/
----------	---------	----------	------------

Roots with final accent have only the double causative:

/vʌl-/	'boil'	/vʌlva-/
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d) irregular causatives

Two roots have an /-l-/ infix in the causatives:

/bʌh-/	'sit'	/bɪlha-/	/bɪlhva-/
/pi-/	'drink'	/pɪla-/	/pɪlva-/

Minor irregularities in the formation of the causatives are present in:

/bhʌök-/	'bark'	/bhuka-/	/bhukva-/
/pʌðhc-/	'arrive'	/puca-/	/pueva-/
/dhruk-/	'run'	/dhurka-/	/dhrukva-/

4.4.1 Semantic distinctions

The simple causative, or the double causative when it alone is in use, of an intr. verb represents its conversion to the corresponding tr., that of a tr. to the causal of its passive. When the simple causative is also in use, the double causative of an intr. represents its causal, but is not always clearly distinguished in meaning from the simple causative: the double causative of a tr. often represents a greater stress on the idea of causing a third party to participate in the action.

In a small class of verbs the now general causative exists as the tr. of an intr. root alongside an older tr. with modified vowel (4.3) from which it is differentiated in meaning:

/gʌl-/	'be destroyed'	/gal-/	'destroy'	vs.	/gʌla-/	'melt'
	melt'					
/mil-/	'meet'	/mel-/	'join'	vs.	/mila-/	'introduce'

/phɪr-/	'turn'	/pher-/	'turn'	vs.	/phira-/	'whirl'
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The causative has come to be used to the exclusion of older tr. with modified vowel in the case of roots in /-ʌh-/ as a consequence of the recent falling together of original /Ah/ and /ah/ (1.12.3), thus modern /laha-/ 'make descend' for older /lah-/.

Semantic distinctions between root and causative stem are not always present, thus /dʌs- ~ dʌsa-/ 'tell'. But in other cases the causative effectively represents a new verb of substantially different meaning:

/parh-/	'read, study'	vs.	/parha-/	'teach'	/parhva-/
/dekh-/	'see'		/dikha-/	'show'	/dikhva-/
/sun-/	'hear'		/suna-/	'tell'	/sunva-/

Here the double causative functions as the causal of the simple causative. Such pairs blur the distinction made here between a primary 'root' and a derived causative 'stem' in order to emphasize the formal analogies between the latter and other expanded stems.

4.5 PASSIVE STEMS

Some intr. members of root pairs are clearly passive in sense, e.g., /sip-/ 'be sewn' (4.3). The passive may also be formed peri-

phrastically (7.7.2.c). Tr. roots may freely be modified to form passive stems, although these are not as frequently used as the causatives. Accented /-'ij/ is added to consonant-roots, including /h/-roots, with weakening of the root:

/akh-/	'say, call'	/akhij-/	'be said, be called'
/mar-/	'kill'	/marij-/	'be killed'
/kar-/	'do'	/karij-/	'be done'

Disyllabic roots lose post-tonic /-ə-/, and final accented vowels are transferred in weakened form to the first syllable of the passive stem:

/pʌkʌr-/	'seize'	/pʌkrij-/	'be seized'
/mʌrɔr-/	'twist'	/murrij-/	'be twisted'

Monosyllabic vowel-roots add /-'vij/:

/kha-/	'eat'	/khvij-/	'be eaten'
/de-/	'give'	/dijij-/	'be given'

The only disyllabic vowel-roots to have passive stems end in /-'a/, which changes to /-'ij/:

/pʌrna-/	'marry'	/pʌrnij-/	'be married'
/bišra-/	'dazzle'	/bišrij-/	'be dazzled'

Causatives do not normally give rise to passive stems, except where the meaning is markedly different from the root verb, and the latter is intr.:

/vʌñ-/	'go' vs.	/vʌña-/	'destroy'	/vʌñij-/	'be destroyed'
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A special case is:

/bʌh-/	'sit'	/bɪlha-/	'seat'	/bɪlhij-/	'be seated'
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The meaning of the passive stem is otherwise obvious. The commonest examples are such natural deponents as /akhij-/ 'be called' or /pʌrnij-/ 'be married'. In older texts a few intr. verbs, especially /dis- nazar-/ 'appear, seem', are frequently used as deponent passives, but this is now quite obsolete. The passive stems of roots in /-j/ are avoided for euphonic reasons.

4. 6 PRESENT-FUTURE STEM

As its name implies, the present-future (pr.-fut.) stem is secondary within the verbal system, being employed for the formation only of the present participle and the future. It thus differs from the primary stems of the causatives and the passive, from which distinctive pr.-fut. stems may be formed.

Rules for the formation of the pr.-fut. stem are rather more complex than for the primary stems, being determined not only by the formal type of root or primary stem, but by whether these are passive, intr. or tr.

4.6.1 Passive stems

These lose final /-j/ in the pr.-fut. stem:

/mʌrij-/	'be killed'	pr.-fut. /mʌri-/
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4.6.2 Intransitive verbs

These normally make no change for the pr.-fut. stem, whatever the formal type of root:

/ji-/	'live'	pr.-fut. /ji-/
/kuma-/	'wither'	/kuma-/
/rʌh-/	'remain'	/rʌh-/
/mʌr-/	'die'	/mʌr-/
/nɪkʌl-/	'go out'	/nɪkʌl-/

Exceptions are dealt with below (4.6.4).

4.6.3 Transitive verbs

Changes are determined by the type of root:

a) vowel-roots and /h/-roots

These normally make no change for the pr.-fut. stem:

/de-/	'give'	pr.-fut. /de-/
/cʌh-/	'want'	/cʌh-/

The special case of roots in /-a/ is discussed below (4.6.4).

b) consonant-roots

These normally add accented /-'e/ with the usual weakening of the root:

/kʌr-/	'do'	pr.-fut. /kʌre-/
/mar-/	'kill'	/mʌre-/
/vec-/	'sell'	/vice-/
/gol-/	'search'	/gʌle-/

Disyllabic roots with initial accent lose post-tonic /-ʌ-/:

/pʌkʌr-/	'seize'	/pʌkre-/
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4. 6. 3

Those with final accented peripheral vowels transfer these in weakened form to the first syllable, but accented /-'a-/ is lost:

/v <u>bal</u> -/	'boil'	pr.-fut. /v <u>ble</u> -/
/n <u>apir</u> -/	'wring out'	/n <u>ipre</u> -/
/n <u>akher</u> -/	'separate'	/n <u>ikhre</u> -/
/m <u>aror</u> -/	'twist'	/m <u>urre</u> -/

4. 6. 4 /a/-roots

a) disyllabic roots in accented /-'a/

These normally change /-'a/ to /-'e/. All causative stems are subject to this change:

/f <u>arma</u> -/	'order'	pr.-fut. /f <u>arme</u> -/
/d <u>iva</u> -/	'cause to give'	/d <u>ive</u> -/

But /kama-/ 'earn' makes no change for pr.-fut., like intr. roots in /-'a/.

b) monosyllabic roots in /-a/

Five common tr. roots change to C /-æ/, S /-e/:

/ca-/	'raise'	pr.-fut. /C cæ-	S ce-/-
/d <u>ha</u> -/	'cast down'	/C d <u>hæ</u> -	S d <u>he</u> -/
/la-/	'apply'	/C l <u>æ</u> -	S le-/-
/pa-/	'put'	/C p <u>æ</u> -	S pe-/-
/ta-/	'heat'	/C t <u>æ</u> -	S te-/-

One anomalous intr. root follows the same pattern:

/v <u>āñ</u> -/	'go'	/C v <u>æ</u> -	S ve-/-
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Other monosyllabic roots in /-a/ and /-ā/ are unchanged in standard CS, but are altered for the pr.-fut. in several sub-standard local dialects, typically to /-am-/ in the south-east, to /-ā-/ in the south-west, and to /-ao-/ in many peripheral areas, thus:

		CS	local
/a-/	'come'	pr.-fut. /a-/	/(\u025b\u025bm- ~ \u025b- ~ \u025b\u025ao-)/
/bh\u025b-/	'please'	/bh\u025b-/	/bh\u025bm\u025b- ~ bh\u025b- ~ bh\u025b\u025ao-)/
/kha-/	'eat'	/kha-/	/kh\u025bm- ~ kh\u025b- ~ kh\u025b\u025ao-)/

The same variation is extended to two other common intr. vowel-roots, of which the first has an irregularly formed pr.-fut. in CS also:

/bh\u025b\u025b-/	'turn'	pr.-fut. /bh\u025bm\u025b-/	/bh\u025bm\u025b- ~ bh\u025b-)/
/po-/	'lie'	/po-/	/p\u025bm- ~ p\u025b\u025ao-)/

4.6.5 Confusions

As a consequence of these rules, the pr.-fut. of tr. verbs with modified root-vowel is identical with that of the corresponding causative (4.6.3; 4.6.4.a) Thus the semantic difference between such pairs as /mel-/ 'join' and /mila-/ 'introduce' (4.4.1) is not formally marked in the pr.-fut./mle-/ . The sense is, however, normally obvious from the context.

A further consequence of the rules is the obliteration of the distinction between a consonant-root and its causative in pr.-fut., e.g., /kʌr-/ 'do' and /kʌra-/ 'cause to be done' both have pr.-fut. /kʌre-/. Confusions of this kind are often avoided where necessary by the use of the double causative, thus pr.-fut./kʌre-/ 'do' vs. /kʌrve-/ < /kʌrva-/ 'cause to be done'. Where the causative represents a substantial change of meaning, and is almost as commonly used as the simple verb, such confusions are all the more likely to arise. Here the simple verb, even though a tr. consonant-root, regularly makes no change for the pr.-fut.:

	pr.-fut.		pr.-fut.
/pʌrh-/ 'read'	/pʌrh-/	vs. /pʌrha-/ 'teach'	/pʌrhe-/
/dekh-/ 'see'	/dekh-/	/dikha-/ 'show'	/dikhe-/
/sun-/ 'hear'	/sun-/	/suna-/ 'tell'	/sune-/

Possible confusions between different roots can be eliminated in the same way:

/jan-/ 'know'	/jan-/	vs. /jʌn-/ 'bear'	/jʌne-/
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Thus formal rules are often adapted to the requirements of semantic differentiation.

Other instances of tr. consonant-roots not adding /-e/ for the pr.-fut., or often being used without the suffix, are less easy to explain in this fashion. Common examples are:

/ghim-/ 'take'	pr.-fut. /ghim-/	
/likh-/ 'write'	/likh- ~ likhe-/	
/puch-/ 'ask'	/puch-/	
/rʌkh-/ 'put'	/rʌkh- ~ rʌkhe-/	
/suñan-/ 'recognize'	/suñan- ~ suñne-/	
/vun-/ 'weave'	/vun-/	

Final clusters other than those of homorganic nasal + voiced plosive are broken by epenthetic /-ʌ-/ in the pr.-fut.:

/mutr-/ 'urinate'	/mutʌr-/
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This verb is in fact tr. (8.3.3). Verbs of imperfectly defined transitivity naturally vary in the pr.-fut.:

- /sʌməjh-/ 'understand' /sʌməjh- ~ sʌmjhe-/
 vs. /sʌmjha-/ 'make understand' /sʌmjhe-/

In one verb there is a distinction of dialect in the pr.-fut.:

- /akh-/ 'say' /C akh- ~ S akhe-/

And one intr. consonant-root regularly has /'-e/:

- /bol-/ 'speak' /bule-/

4. 7 MORPHOPHONEMIC ADJUSTMENTS

The addition of inflectional morphemes to verbal roots and stems entails certain morphophonemic adjustments:

a) loss of post-tonic /-ə-/

Post-tonic /-ə-/ is regularly lost before all vocalic morphemes:

/níkəl-/ > /níklā/

/pákər-/ /pákrim/

b) obligatory insertion of /-v-/

/-v-/ must be inserted after all vowel-roots before morphemes beginning in a centralized vowel:

	+ /-ən/	+ /-ɪn/
/a-/	> /avən/	/avin/
/pi-/	> /pivən/	/pivin/
/de-/	> /devən/	/devin/
/dho-/	> /dhovən/	/dhovin/

Similarly, /-v-/ must be inserted before most morphemes beginning with a peripheral vowel, always when this is identical with the root-vowel:

	+ /-ā/	+ /-ī/	+ /-e/	+ /-o/
/a-/	> /avā/	/avī/	/ave/	
/pi-/	> /pivā/	/pivī/	/pive/	
/de-/	> /devā/	/devī/	/deve/	
/dho-/	> /dhovā/	/dhovī/	/dhove/	/dhovo/

c) optional insertion of /-v-/

/-v-/ is optionally inserted after vowel-roots before the rounded peripheral vowels, e.g.

/pi-/ > /pivū ~ piū/

/de-/ > /devo ~ deo/

/h/-roots may optionally have /-v-/ before all vocalic morphemes:

/bʌh-/	> /bʌhvā ~ bʌhā/
/rʌh-/	> /rʌhve ~ rʌhe/

Transfers of /h/ follow the rules laid down in 1. 12. 4-6.

4.8 INFITIVE AND GERUNDIVE

4.8.1 Infinitive

The infinitive (inf.) is the standard citation-form of the verb, formed by the addition of /-an/ to the root or primary stem, with appropriate morphophonemic adjustment:

/de-/	'give'	/devən/	'to give'
/rʌh-/	'remain'	/rʌhan/ ~ rʌhvən/	'to remain'
/mʌrij-/	'be killed'	/mʌrijən/	'to be killed'
/rʌkh-/	'put'	/rʌkhən/	'to put'

Roots in /n̥ r̥ rh/ have dissimilation of /-an/ to /-ən/:

/sun̥-/	'hear'	/sunən/	'to hear'
/chor̥-/	'leave'	/chorən/	'to leave'
/par̥h-/	'read'	/parən/	'to read'

The inf. is treated as a mas. noun of declension II, and is therefore unchanged in obl. In some varieties of N it appears to be assigned to declension III with dir. /-vn/, obl. /-ən/. An abl. inf. in /-nū ~ -nū/ is used in all varieties of the language, though less frequently than an inf. + ppn.:

/rʌkhən/	'to put'	/rʌkhnū/	'from putting'
/devən/	'to give'	/devnū/	'from giving'
/chorən/	'to leave'	/chornū/	'from leaving'

The abl. inf. of roots in /-r/ ends in /-nū/, not /-nū/, thus:

/kʌrən/	'to do'	vs.	/kʌrnū/	'from doing'
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The inf. also gives rise to the verbal agent by the addition of the adjectival ppn. /vala ~ ala/:

/kʌrən/	'to do'	/kʌrən vala ~ kʌrən ala/	'doer'
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An older suffix /[-har ~ -hara]/ is now obsolete.

4.8.2 Gerundive

The gerundive (ger.) is a verbal adjective in */-na/*, formed exactly as the abl. inf., and declined as a black adjective:

<i>/rakhna/</i>	'to put'	<i>/rakhna/</i>	'worthy to be put'
<i>/devna/</i>	'to give'	<i>/devna/</i>	'worthy to be given'
<i>/rahvan ~</i> <i>rahvan/</i>	'to remain'	<i>/rahna ~</i> <i>rahvna/</i>	'worthy to remain'
<i>/choran/</i>	'to leave'	<i>/chorna/</i>	'worthy to be left'
<i>/karan/</i>	'to do'	vs. <i>/karna/</i>	'worthy to be done'

The passive significance of the ger. makes its formation from passive stems rare.

In the modern educated colloquial the ger. and inf. are not always carefully distinguished, probably due to the influence of U P, which make no thorough distinction between the two:

	<u>U</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>CS</u>
ger.	-na	-na	-na
inf.	-na	-na	> (-na) ~ -n̄a
obl. inf.	-ne	> (-ne) ~	> (-ne) ~
		-ən	-n̄n

But the bracketed forms have yet to be fully accepted as standard.

4.9 CATEGENATIVE AND CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES

4.9.1 Catenative participle

The catenative participle (ptc.) is normally identical in form with the root or primary stem:

<i>/kar-/</i>	<i>/kar/</i>	'having done'
<i>/sun-a-/</i>	<i>/sun-a/</i>	'having told'
<i>/marij-/</i>	<i>/marij/</i>	'having been killed'

But in the older language the catenative ptc. regularly ended in */[-i]/*, and this has affected the modern formation of the catenative ptc. in three classes of verb:

a) disyllabic roots with post-tonic /-a-/

Roots with final */r̄ r̄ l/* regularly change post-tonic */-a-/* to */-i-/*, other roots optionally make this change for the catenative ptc.:

<i>/nikal-/</i>	<i>/nikil/</i>	'having gone out'
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/dʌhʌl-/	/dæhɪl/	'having dreaded'
/sʌmʌjh-/	/sʌmʌjh ~ sʌmɪjh/	'having understood'

This is to be explained historically as the result of regressive vowel-harmony (2. 2. c), i.e. * [níkʌlɪ] > níkɪlɪ] > /níkɪl/.

b) roots in /-ʌh/

These regularly change to /-æh/, for older *[-ʌhɪ], in the catenative ptc.:

/rʌh-/	/ræh/	'having remained'
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The change of vowel is explained above (1. 12. 3).

c) roots adding /-i/

Two roots regularly add /-i/ to form the catenative ptc.:

/vʌtħ-/	/vʌtħi/	'having risen'
/vʌtħ-/	/vʌtħi/	'having seized'

Other exceptions to the rule of identity between root and catenative ptc. are not to be explained as the result of earlier /[-i]/. Three intr. vowel-roots have distinctive forms in the catenative ptc.:

/a-/	C an/a ~ C an ~ S ʌn/ ~ S ʌn	'having come'
/bhʌv-/	/bhʌð/	'having turned'
/po-/	/pæ/	'having lain'

4. 9. 2 Conjunctive participle

The conjunctive ptc. is formed by the addition of a morpheme to the catenative ptc. The morphemes are S /te/, vs. C /kʌr ~ ke/ in free variation except after roots in /-ʌr/ which have only /ke/: they are treated as separate words in native orthography, a practice followed in this transcription since they may have separate accent, thus C /ræh kʌr ~ ræh ke/ S /ræh te/ 'having remained'.

The catenative ptc. also acts as the base for the less common emphatic conjunctive ptc., which is marked by the extended morpheme /kʌrahī/, thus /níkɪl kʌrahī/ 'having gone out'.

4. 10 PRESENT PARTICIPLE

The present participle (pr. ptc.) is a black adjective in /-da/ formed from the pr.-fut. stem.

a) vowel-stems

The vowel is nasalized before /-da/:

/a-/	/ada/	'coming'
/kare-/	/karēda/	'doing'
/mari-/	/marīda/	'being killed'

The use of a /-v-/ infix after monosyllabic stems is now obsolete, thus /pīvda/ > pīda/ 'drinking'.

b) /h/-stems

The vowel is nasalized before /-da/, and metathesis to /-dha/ is possible and frequent (1. 12. 4):

/rāh-/	/rāhda ~ rādha/	'remaining'
/doh-/	/dōhda ~ dōdha/	'milking'

c) consonant-stems

These normally make no change before /-da/:

/tur-/	/turda/	'going'
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But two stems in /-kh/ may have irregular pr. ptc.:

/dekh-/	/dekhda ~ dehda ~ dedha/	'seeing'
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/akh-/	C /akhda ~ āhda ~ adha/	'saying'
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/akh-/ has S pr.-fut. /ākhe-/ > pr. ptc. /ākhēda/ 'saying' (4. 6. 5).

4. 10. 1 Adverbial present participle

The adverbial pr. ptc. is formed by the change of /-da/ to /-dyē ~ C -dyā/. Since the first element is very weak in the diphthong /-dyē/ (1. 3. 1), the form can be regarded as being in free variation with /-dē/. A further variant in educated speech and writing is /-de/, probably < U /-te/. Thus pr. ptc. /karēda/ 'doing' yields the variant forms of the adverbial ptc. /karedyē ~ karedē ~ karede ~ C karedyā/.

4. 11 PAST PARTICIPLE

The past participle is an adjective in /-ya/ formed from the root:

/tur-/	/turya/	'went'
/gā-/	/gāvyā/	'sang'
/ji-/	/jivya/	'lived'

The declension follows that of a black adjective, /-y-/ being dropped in the fem.:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg.	turya	turi
pl.	turye	turiā

Roots in /-a/, including all causative stems but excluding roots in /-ā/, and roots in /-o/ do not infix /-v-/ in the past ptc.:

/a-/	/aya/	'came'
/sun-a-/	/sunaya/	'told'
/ho-/	/hoya/	'been'

In the declension of these participles /-y-/ is dropped in the m. pl.:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg.	aya	ai	hoya	[hoi] > hui
pl.	ae	arā	hoe	horā

Besides these there are some ninety verbs, including some of the commonest, which have irregularities in the formation of the past ptc.: these require separate listing (4.12-13).

No past ptc. is formed from passive stems, since the past ptc. of the simple tr. root necessarily bears a passive significance.

4.11.1 Adverbial past participle

This is formed analogously with the more frequent adverbial present ptc. (4.10.1), by the change of /-ya/ to /-yē -ē -e C-yā/, thus /turyē ~ turē ~ ture ~ C turyā/.

4.11.2 Perfective participle

This is formed as in U P by the addition of /hoya/ 'been' to the past ptc., thus /turya hoy/a/: both elements decline. The perfective participle, which describes a present state accomplished in past time, is most commonly used predicatively (7.11.d) or adverbially (7.12.f). A present perfective ptc. /turda hoy/a/ is also possible, but much less common, except in its adverbial use (7.12.e).

4.11.3 Connective participle

The connective ptc. is formally equivalent to the f. sg. of the past ptc. It is normally formed from tr. verbs only, thus /sunai/ 'having told'. The usage of the connective ptc., which is not found in U or some varieties of P, is explained below (7.4.2; 7.6).

There is no equivalent of the U P 'gerund', formally identical with a regularly formed m. sg. past ptc., as U /jaya/ < /jana/ 'to go'.

4. 12 IRREGULAR PAST PARTICIPLES IN /-ya -ea/

Two irregularly formed past participles in /-ya/ follow the paradigms given in 4. 11:

/jám-/	'be born'	/jaya/ R	'born'
/ján-/	'bear'	/jaya/ R	'born'
/máṛ-/	'die'	/moya/	'died'

Here and throughout 4. 13, R denotes the alternative of a regularly formed past ptc., i.e. /jaya ~ jámya/ and /jaya ~ jánya/: since the past ptc. is neuter or passive in meaning, the same irregular past ptc. may correspond to both members of intr. and tr. root pairs.

Three very common verbs have irregularly formed past ptc. in /-ea/:

/po-/	'lie'	/pea/	'lain'
/thi-/	'become'	/thea/	'became'
/vāñ-/	'go'	/gea/	'went'

These follow the paradigm given for black adjectives in /-ea/ (2. 5. 1), but are liable to reductions of the diphthong in unstressed position, especially in S:

	mas.	fem.
sg.	pea > pya	pai > S pi
pl.	pae > S pe	peā ~ piā > pyā ~ piā

One other common verb commonly has an irregular past ptc. declined as a black adjective in /-eha/ (2. 5. 1):

/rāh-/	'remain'	/reha/ R	'remained'
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4. 13 IRREGULAR PAST PARTICIPLES IN /-a/

All other irregular past participles end in /-a/, not /-ya/, and are declined exactly as black adjectives.

4. 13. 1 Roots adding /-a/

This is the simplest class and includes:

/bādh-/	'tie'	/bādha/	'tied'
/bād-/	'drown'	/bāda/	'drowned'
/bhān-/	'break' (tr.)	/bhāna/	'broke'
/bhān-/	'wet'	/bhāna/	'wet'

/bhvn-/	'parch'	/bhona/	'parched'
/chut-/	'get free'	/chuta/	'got free'
/khṛ-/	'stand'	/khṛra/	'stood'
/lag-/	'begin'	/laga/ R	'began'
/pučh-/	'ask'	/pučha/ R	'asked'
/ridh-/	'cook'	/ridha/	'cooked'
/rudh-/	'be busy'	/rudha/	'busied'
/suk-/	'be dry'	/suka/	'dried'
/trut-/	'break' (intr.)	/truta/	'broke'

In other cases a past ptc. in /-a/ may have a specialized meaning as an adjective, e.g., /khula/ 'loose, stray' vs. /khul-/ > /khulya/ 'opened'

4. 13. 2 Other classes

In all other past participles in /-a/ there is a preceding retroflex or dental consonant, either added to a root-vowel or representing the change of a final consonant. Eight classes are to be distinguished:

<u>retroflex:</u>	<u>dental:</u>	-ta (4. 13. 6)
-tha (4. 13. 3)		-tha (4. 13. 7)
		-da (4. 13. 8)
		-dha (4. 13. 9)
-na (4. 13. 4)		-na (4. 13. 10)
-ṛha (4. 13. 5)		

Apart from the many regular alternatives in use, the assignment of verbs to these classes is usually definite. Only a few verbs may be assigned to more than one class, e.g., /nikal-/ > /nikhta ~ nikṛtha/ 'went out', but homonyms are distinguished in the past ptc. as /po-/ > /pea/ 'lain' vs. /po-/ > /pota/ 'threaded' and as /laḥ-/ > /latha/ 'descended' vs. /laḥ-/ > /laḍha/ 'obtained'.

Membership of these classes is closed, and the following lists are to be regarded as constituting a reasonably complete inventory, excluding only quite obsolete forms or those used in older poetry for the sake of the rhyme scheme.

4. 13. 3 Past participles in /-tha/

The root generally ends in /-h/ or /-s/ (intr.):

/chṛh-/	'slink'	/chṛtha/	'slunk'
/dhṛh-/	'fall'	/dhṛtha/	'fell'

/dhoh-/	'convey'	/dhotha/ R	'conveyed'
/dis-/	'appear'	/ditha/ R	'appeared'
/dekh-/	'see'	/ditha/	'seen'
/druh-/	'drag'	/drutha/ R	'dragged'
/kos-/	'be slaughtered'	/kotha/	'slaughtered'
/koh-/	'slaughter'	/kotha/	'slaughtered'
/[mus-]/	'be ruined'	/mutha/	'ruined'
/nas-/	'flee'	/natha/	'fled'
/phis-/	'be ground'	/pitha/	'ground'
/pih-/	'grind'	/pitha/	'ground'
/ros-/	'be cross'	/rotha/	'cross'
/trah-/	'shrink away'	/tratha/	'shrank away'

Two roots have change of vowel before /-tha/:

/bah-/	'sit'	/C bætha	
		~ S betha/	'sat'
/vas-/	'dwell, rain'	/vutha/	'dwelt, rained'

4.13.4 Past participles in /-na/

These are commonly formed from intr. roots in /-a -ā/, other than /a-/ 'come':

/ala-/	'speak'	/alana/ R	'spoke'
/bhā-/	'please'	/bhana/ R	'pleased'
/gā-/	'sing'	/gana/ R	'sang'
/kuma-/	'wither'	/kumana/ R	'withered'
/ma-/	'be contained'	/mana/ R	'contained'
/vika-/	'be sold'	/vikana/ R	'sold'

While all these participles have regular alternatives, this pattern is still active in S and may be extended to verbs other than those listed, occasionally even to causatives: it is the only pattern productive of new forms. In older poetry the pattern is very commonly extended to other roots in /-a/ to suit the rhyme.

4.13.5 Past participles in /-rha/

Only one root belongs to this class, having a change of vowel before /-rha/:

/vrh-/	'flow, be ploughed'	/vurha/	'flowed, ploughed'
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4.13.6 Past participles in /-ta/

This is the largest class and includes many of the commonest roots.

a) vowel-roots + /ta/

/ca-/	'raise'	/cata/ [R]	'raised'
/dhā-/	'bathe'	/dhāta/ R	'bathed'
/dho-/	'wash'	/dhota/	'washed'
/jo-/	'yoke'	/jota/	'yoked'
/la-/	'apply'	/lata/ R	'applied'
/pa-/	'put'	/pata/ [R]	'put'
/pi-/	'drink'	/pita/	'drank'
/po-/	'thread'	/pota/	'threaded'
/si-/	'sew'	/sita/	'sewn'

And with change of vowel before /-ta/:

/de-/	'give'	/dita/	'gave'
/jo-/	'yoke'	/juta ~ jota/	'yoked'
/kama-/	'earn'	/kamatta/	'earned'
/ne-/	'take'	/nita/	'took'

b) consonant-roots > /-ta/

/jan-/	'know'	/jata/ R	'knew'
/kar-/	'do'	/kita ~ (S kita)/	'did'
/khos-/	'be seized'	/khuta/	'seized'
/khoh-/	'seize'	/khuta/	'seized'
/limb-/	'plaster'	/lita/ R	'plastered'
/mac-/	'flare up'	/mata/ R	'flared up'
/[m̥ñjh-]/	'send'	/muta/	'sent'
/níkal-/	'go out'	/níkhta ~ níkta/	'went out'
/p̥ñhē-/	'arrive'	/p̥ñhta/ R	'arrived'
/s̥amh- ~ sumh-/	'sleep'	/suta/	'slept'
/suñan-/	'recognize'	/suñata/ R	'recognized'

/tata/ 'hot' is an adjective, vs. /t̥ap-/ > /t̥apy/ 'heated'.

4.13.7 Past participles in /-tha/

The root generally ends in /-h/ or /-s/ (intr.) (cf. 4.13.3):

/ghos-/	'err'	/ghutha/	'erred'
/khos-/	'drop'	/khutha/ R	'dropped'
/ləh-/	'descend'	/lətha/	'descended'
/nikəl-/	'go out'	/nikəttha/	'went out'
/phas- ~ phəh-/	'entangle'	/phatha/	'entangled'
/phis-/	'be ground'	/pitha/	'ground'
/pih-/	'grind'	/pitha/	'ground'

4.13.8 Past participles in /-da/

This is a small class, since /-da/ is the characteristic ending of the present ptc. Two of the three verbs belonging to this class have been transferred from the next class by the dissimilation of aspirates (1.12.6):

/an-/	'bring'	/āda/	'brought'
/ghm-/	'take'	/[(ghidha] > ghida/	'took'
/kha-/	'eat'	/[(khadha] > khada/	'ate'

4.13.9 Past participles in /-dha/

/bənh-/	'tie'	/bədha/	'tied'
/dəbh-/	'be milked'	/dədha/	'milked'
/doh-/	'milk'	/dədha/	'milked'
/gunh-/	'plait'	/gədha/ R	'plaited'
/ləbh- ~ ləh-/	'be obtained'	/lədha/	'obtained'
/[lah-] > ləha-/	'obtain'	/lədha/ R	'obtained'
/rabh- ~ rəh-/	'be sown'	/radha/	'sown'
/[rah-] > rəha-/	'sow'	/radha/ R	'sown'
/rinh-/	'cook'	/ridha/	'cooked'
/rujh-/	'be busy'	/rudha/	'busied'

/yʌbh-/	'copulate'	/yʌdha/	'copulated'
/yʌh-/	'copulate with'	/yʌdha/	'copulated'

The participles /bʌdha rɪdha rʊdha/ also correspond to the roots /bʌdh- rɪdh- rʊdh-/ (4. 13. 1).

4. 13. 10 Past participles in /-na/

The root generally ends in /-j/:

/bhʌj-/	'run, break' (intr.)	/bhʌna/ R	'ran, broke'
/bhɪj-/	'be wet'	/bhɪna/ R	'wet'
/bhʊj-/	'be parched'	/bhʊna/ R	'parched'
/puj-/	'arrive'	/puna/ R	'arrived'
/sɪj-/	'be moistened'	/sɪna/ R	'moistened'

There is also one vowel-root:

/ro-/	'weep'	/runa/ R	'wept'
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The participles /bhʌna bhɪna bhʊna/ also correspond to the tr. roots /bhʌn- bhɪn- bhʊn-/ (4. 13. 1).

4. 14 STEM TENSES

Five tenses are formed without the use of the participles or the auxiliary verb. The present subjunctive, its derivative conditional I, the imperative and the aorist imperative are all formed by the addition of personal endings with appropriate morphophonemic adjustments (4. 7) to the root or primary stem. The future is formed by the addition of personal endings to the pr.-fut. stem.

4. 14. 1 Present subjunctive

This tense was a general present in the older language, as still in poetry and proverbs, being used as an indicative present and future as well as in the subjunctive sense to which it is now normally confined, having been replaced as an indicative by the periphrastic present tense (4. 16. 2).

The six personal endings and typical morphophonemic adjustments are illustrated in the paradigm:

4. 14. 1

<u>root:</u>	/tur-/ 'go'	/níkla-/ 'go out'	/a-/ 'come'	/rʌh-/ 'remain'
sg. 1 /-ā/	turā	níklā	avā	rʌhā ~ rʌhvā
2 /C-ē/	turē	níklē	avē	rʌhē ~ rʌhvē
~ S-ī/	~ turī	~ níklī	~ avī	~ rʌhī ~ rʌhvī
3 /-e/	turē	níkle	ave	rʌhe ~ rʌhve
pl. 1 /-ū/	turū	níklū	aū	rʌhū ~ rʌhvū
2 /-o/	turo	níklo	ao	rʌho ~ rʌhvo
3 /-m/	turīn	níklīn	avīn	ræhin ~ rʌhvīn

The pr. subjunctive of passive stems usually has a gerundive sense: the older 'impersonal verbs' /kʌrie ~ kice/ 'it is to be done' are now replaced by the regular 3sg. /kʌrije/ </kʌrij-/.

4. 14. 2 Conditional I

This is formed by the addition of the invariable particle /ha/ to the pr. subjunctive, thus /turā ha ... turīn ha/. It is equivalent in meaning and usage to conditional II (4. 16. 1).

4. 14. 3 Imperative

The imperative is not normally formed from passive stems, and has only 2sg. and 2pl. 2sg. is normally identical with the catenative ptc. (4. 9. 1), and 2pl. with 2pl. of pr. subjunctive:

sg. 2	tur	níkil	a	ræh
pl. 2 /-o/	turo	níklo	ao	rʌho ~ rʌhvo

2sg. of /a-/ is only /a/, vs. catenative ptc. /a ~ C an ~ S an/: similarly, /po-/ 'lie' has 2sg. imperative /po/, vs. catenative ptc. /pæ/. /tħ-/ 'rise' has 2sg. imperative /tħi/ (=catenative ptc.), and 2pl. /tħo ~ (tħijo)/.

4. 14. 4 Aorist imperative

The aorist imperative is more polite in sense than the simple imperative: it too is not normally formed from passive stems, and has only 2sg. and 2pl. 2sg. is identical with 2sg. of pr. subjunctive: 2pl. is formed by the addition of accented /'-ahe/, with weakening of the root, or of /'-ae/ after /h/-roots (1. 12. 6):

sg. 2 /C-ē	turē	níklē	avē	rʌhē ~ rʌhvē
~ S-ī/	~ turī	~ níklī	~ avī	~ rʌhī ~ rʌhvī
pl. 2 /'-ahe/	turahe	níklahe	avahe	rʌhae

An accented peripheral vowel in the second syllable is lost in 2pl., thus /mʌrɔr-/ > /murrahe/ 'twist!'. This change eliminates the distinction between root and causative in 2pl., thus /θh-/ > /thahe/ 'rise!', also /θha-/ > /θhahe/ 'raise!'.

4.14.5 Future

The future, freely formed from all verbs, is formed by the addition of personal endings to the pr.-fut. stem without morphophonemic change:

sg. 1 /-sā/	tursā	nɪkalsā	asā	rəhsā
2 /C-sē	tursē	nɪkalsē	asē	rəhsē
~ S-sī/	~ tursī	~ nɪkalsī	~ asī	~ rəhsī
3 /C-si	tursi	nɪkalsi	asi	rəhsi
~ S-se/	~ turse	~ nɪkalse	~ ase	~ rəhse
pl. 1 /-sū/	tursū	nɪkalsū	asū	rəhsū
2 /-so/	turso	nɪkalso	aso	rəhso
3 /-sin/	tursin	nɪkalsin	asin	rəhsin

The symmetry with the endings of the pr. subjunctive is disturbed only in 3sg./C -si/ vs. pr. subjunctive /-e/.

The sigmatic future is distinctive of Siraiki and the Northern Lahnda dialects, as contrasted with P Si U. Distinctions between root, causative and passive in the future are illustrated by:

/sun-/	/sunsi/	'he will hear'
/suna-/	/unesi/	'he will tell'
/sunij-/	/unisi/	'he will be heard'

4.14.6 Negatives

The negative of all five stem tenses is formed by the use of /nʌ/ 'not', sometimes /kɔnʌ ~ kænʌ/, before the positive forms, thus /nʌ as/ 'he will not come'.

4.15 AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verb proper is restricted to two tenses, present and past, both fully conjugated for person. Distinction of gender is possible only in 3sg. past.

4. 15. 1

4. 15. 1 Present auxiliary

The present auxiliary (pr. aux.) has both full and short forms:

	<u>full forms</u>	<u>short forms</u>
sg. 1	hā	ā
2	C hē ~ S hāī	C ē ~ S ī ~ ī
3	he	e
pl. 1	C hīse ~ S hese ~ C hē ~ S hū	se ~ S ese ~ S ū
2	ho ~ C hīve ~ S heve	o ~ ve ~ S eve
3	hin	in

There are many variant forms, due partly to differences between C and S: in older poetry yet more forms are to be encountered (9.5.6). Full forms are used in stressed position, i.e., as existential verbs or for emphasis. In most other contexts, including formal writing as well as speech, the short forms are used: C 1pl./hā/, lacking a corresponding short form with the typical loss of /h-/, is used in all contexts.

4. 15. 2 Elision of short forms

Short forms of the pr. aux. very commonly coalesce with preceding final vowels, especially when these are unaccented and post-tonic. Native orthography is very inconsistent in such cases in writing one word or two. Elisions are written in transcription in the following cases only:

a) after /-a/

/-a + -ā > CS-ā/	turda ā > CS turdā
/-a + -āī > S-āī/	caħa ī > S caħāī
/-a + -ī > S-ī/	turda ī > S turdī
/-a + -e > C -ae ~	turda e > C turdæ ~
S -e/	S turde
	turdiā ese > S turdiēse
/-aya + -e > C -aæ ~	paħkaya e > C paħkaæ ~
S -ae	S paħkae
/-ya + -e > CS -ye/	turya e > CS turye
/-a + -in > C -æn ~	turdiā m > C turdiæn ~
S -in/	S turdiim

b) after /-i/

/-i + -ā > S -iā/	CS <u>turdi</u> ā ~ S <u>turdia</u>
/-i + -ī > S -i/	<u>turdi</u> ī > S <u>turdī</u>
/-i + -e > S -ie/	CS <u>turdi</u> e ~ S <u>turdie</u>
/-i + -ū > S -iū/	admi ū > S admīū
/-i + -in > S -iin/	CS admī in ~ S admīm

c) after /-e/

/-e + -ū > S -ū/	<u>turde</u> ū > S <u>turdū</u>
/-e + -o > C -yo ~	<u>turde</u> o > C <u>turdyo</u> ~
S -o/	S <u>turdo</u>
/-ye + -o > CS -yo/	<u>turye</u> o > CS <u>turyo</u>
/-e + -in > CS -in/	c <u>ahe</u> in > CS c <u>ahin</u>

d) after /-æ/

/-æ + -in > C -æn/	<u>gæ</u> in > C <u>gæn</u>
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These elisions play an important part in the formation of the periphrastic tenses (4.16.2, 5), and also apply after nouns and adjectives. In all other contexts short forms of the auxiliary are written as separate words.

4.15.3 Past auxiliary

There is no distinction between full and short forms in the past aux.:

sg. 1 hæm ~ [haim] > hæm

2 havē

3 mas. ha

fem. [hai] > hai

pl. 1 hase

2 have

3 han ~ [hain] > hæn

/hæm hæn/ are more emphatic than the usual /hæm han. The distinction of gender in 3sg. is often lost, particularly in S, /hai/ being generalized for mas. as well as fem. Other forms of the past aux. are encountered in older poetry (9.5.6).

4. 15. 4 Negative auxiliaries

The negative of the pr. aux. may be formed by the negative adverb /nhī ~ nī/ 'not', or frequently /koinhī ~ kænhī/, used either alone for all persons and numbers, but especially for 3sg. and 3pl., or before the positive forms. There exists also a negative pr. aux. with distinctive personal forms (5.6).

The negative of the past aux. is formed by prefixing /nʌ/ or the more emphatic /koinʌ ~ kænʌ/ to the positive forms, making a single word. The prefixing of /nʌ/ involves some of the displacements which are so common in the vicinity of /h/. Idiolects vary in their realization, but the following represents an acceptable standard:

sg. 1	nʌ'hʌm
2	nhavē ~ navhē
3 mas.	nʌ'ha
fem.	nʌ'hʌi ~ nʌhi
pl. 1	nʌhase
2	nhave ~ navhe
3	nʌ'hæn

Emphatic forms with expanded prefix do not involve such elisions, thus 2sg./koinʌhavē/.

4. 15. 5 Other tenses

Other tenses of the auxiliary verb are formed from the root /ho-/ 'be', thus 3sg. pr. subjunctive /hove/, future /hosɪ/. Many functions of U P /ho-/ are exercised in Siraiki by /thi-/ 'become' (7. 2), but the latter is not used as an auxiliary.

4.16 PARTICIPIAL TENSES

Six common tenses are formed from the present and past participles, used alone or with the auxiliaries:

pr. ptc. alone:	conditional II (4.16.1)
pr. ptc. + pr. aux.:	present (4.16.2)
pr. ptc. + past aux.:	imperfect (4.16.3)
past ptc. alone:	past (4.16.4)
past ptc. + pr. aux.:	perfect (4.16.5)
past ptc. + past aux.:	pluperfect (4.16.6)

In all participial tenses the ptc. is inflected for gender and number, and the auxiliary for person, but for gender only in 3sg. past.

Other periphrastic tenses may be formed with the participles and appropriate parts of /ho-/; e.g. past ptc. + /hosí/ as 'future perfect', but these will not be itemized below since they are much less commonly used than the six tenses listed and are formed quite straightforwardly.

4.16.1 Conditional II

Formed with the pr. ptc. alone, as in U P, this tense is equivalent in meaning and usage to the distinctive Siraiki conditional I (4.14.2). The ptc. inflects for gender and number:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 1-3	turda	turdí
pl. 1-3	turde	turdíā

4.16.2 Present

This is formed with the pr. ptc. + pr. aux. The paradigm lists the usual forms, which include many elisions of the aux. (4.15.2):

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 1	turdá	turdí ā ~ S turdíā
2	C turdæ ~ S turdī	C turdi ē ~ S turdī
3	C turdæ ~ S turde	turdí e ~ S turdie
pl. 1	turde se ~ C turde hæ ~ S turdū	turdíā se ~ C turdíā hæ ~ S turdiēse
2	turde ve ~ C turdyo ~ S turdo	turdíā ve ~ turdiā o ~ S turdiēve
3	turdin	C turdiæn ~ S turdiin

4.16. 2

The ptc. may also be used with full forms of the aux., but these are far less frequent than the forms given.

In some areas, especially N and the trans-Indus region of C, the present is formed from a ptc. in /-na/, thus 1sg. /karenā/ vs. CS /karedā/ 'I do'. A similar form is used in P, but only in 1sg., 2sg. and 1pl.

4.16. 3 Imperfect

The imperfect is formed with the pr. ptc. + past aux. Since there is no contraction a full paradigm need not be given:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 1	turda han	turdi han

pl. 3	turde han	turdiā han

4.16. 4 Past

This is formed with past ptc. alone, inflected for gender and number:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 1-3	turya	turi
pl. 1-3	turye	turiā

In tenses formed from the past ptc. of verbs having the ergative construction (8.3.3), broadly corresponding to tr. verbs, the verb is in concord with the logical object and only 3sg. and 3pl. are possible:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 3	pita	piti
pl. 3	pite	pitīā

The past tense is used to refer to completed actions, normally in past time.

4. 16. 5 Perfect

The perfect is formed with the past ptc. + pr. aux. As in the present, short forms of the aux. are commonly elided with the ptc., and the less commonly used alternative full forms are omitted from the paradigm. The contractions are identical with those of the present in the perfect of verbs with irregular past ptc. in /-a/ (4. 13), but differ in the mas. when the ptc. ends in /-ya/:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 1	turyā	turi ā ~ S turiā
2	C turyē ~ S turyāī	C turi ē ~ S turi
3	turye	turi e ~ S turiē
pl. 1	turye se ~ S turye hā ~ S turyū	turiā se ~ C turiā hā ~ S turiēse
2	turye ve ~ turyo	turiā ve ~ C turiā o ~ S turiēve
3	turyin	C turiæn ~ S turiin

Further contractions are possible in the perfect of verbs with past ptc. in /-ea/ (4. 12):

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 1	peā ~ pyā	pai ā ~ S piā
2	C pāe ~ S pyāī	C pali ē ~ S pali
3	C pæ ~ S pe	pai e ~ S pie
pl. 1	pæ se ~ C pæ hā ~ S pyū	peā se ~ C peā hā ~ S piēse
2	pæ ve ~ C pæ o ~ S pyo	peā ve ~ C peā o ~ S piēve
3	C pæn ~ S pin	C pæn ~ S pin

Tr. verbs having the ergative construction have only 3sg. and 3pl.:

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
sg. 3	C pitæ ~ S pite	piti e ~ S pitre
pl. 3	pitm	C pitæn ~ S pitin

The perfect is used to denote completed actions connected in some sense with present time.

4. 16. 6 Pluperfect

This is formed with the past ptc. + past aux. A full paradigm need not be given, since there are no contractions. Tr. verbs having the ergative construction again have only 3sg. and 3pl.:

	mas.	fem.
sg. 3	pita ha ~ pita h <i>ai</i>	piti h <i>ai</i>
pl. 3	pite h <i>an</i>	pit <i>iā</i> h <i>an</i>

Besides its use as a true pluperfect, this tense is also used to refer to past time regarded as separate from the present.

4. 16. 7 Negatives

Negative forms of the participial tenses incorporate the negative adverbs /nʌ/ or /nhī ~ nī/, more usually than the corresponding adverbs with the prefixes /koi- ~ kxe-/.

a) tenses formed with ptc. alone

These prefix /nʌ/:

m. sg.	nʌ t <i>urda</i>	nʌ t <i>urya</i>
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b) tenses formed with pr. aux.

These prefix /nhī ~ nī/ and the aux. is usually omitted:

m. sg.	nhī t <i>urda</i>	nhī t <i>urya</i>
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The negative pr. aux. (5. 6) may also be used.

c) tenses formed with past aux.

These are formed with the negative past aux. (4. 15. 4), which usually precedes the ptc.:

m. sg. 3	nʌha t <i>urda</i> ~ t <i>urda</i> nʌha	nʌha t <i>urya</i> ~ t <i>urya</i> nʌha
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Also possible is the positive form preceded by /nʌ/:

m. sg. 3	nʌ t <i>urda</i> ha	nʌ t <i>urya</i> ha
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CHAPTER 5

THE VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

5.1 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The use of pronominal suffixes is one of the most interesting features of the language. As their name implies, these correspond semantically to pronouns: formal rules can be established for the substitution of personal pronouns or of demonstrative pronouns by pronominal suffixes (8.5). Unlike the suffixes of Si, the Siraiki suffixes are used only with finite verbal forms, and thus resemble those of Kashmiri or the more restricted sets found in most western varieties of P and the Northern Lahnda dialects. At least in formal speech and writing, however, their use seems to be on the decline, probably under the influence of U and eastern varieties of P, which lack such suffixes.

Two sets of suffixes are in use:

	<u>direct</u>	<u>oblique</u>
sg. 1	-m	-m
2	-ō	-i ~ -hi ~ -a ~ -o
3		-s
pl. 1	-se	-se
2	-he ~ -ve	-he ~ -ve
3		-ne

Direct suffixes, equivalent to a dir. pronoun, are used only with the tenses formed with ptc. alone, i.e., conditional II and past: there are no forms for 3sg. or 3pl., and only 2sg. is distinguished from the corresponding obl. forms.

Oblique suffixes correspond to an oblique pronoun, i.e., a pronoun in obl. (agentive), d-ac. or pos.: there is a full set for all persons which may be used with stem tenses, the auxiliaries and the participial tenses.

Only two double suffixes are in use: /-mi/ < 1sg. /-m/ + 2sg. /-i/, and /-mis/ < 1sg. /-m/ + 3sg. /-s/.

Modifications undergone by verbal forms to which suffixes are added are best exemplified by individual paradigms: a change of accent with consequent weakening of the root is often involved, especially with the pl. suffixes.

5.2 STEM TENSES + SUFFIXES

Only obl. suffixes (suf.) are possible. Only the imperative and 1sg. and 3sg. of pr. subjunctive and future may have suf., and there are further restrictions on which suf. may be used.

a) imperative + suf.

Only the simple imperative (4.14.3) of tr. verbs may have suf., and only the 3sg. suf. /-s/ is used:

2sg. + 3sg. /-is/ maris khavis

2pl. + 3sg. /-vs/ marus khavus

b) 1sg. pr. subjunctive and future + suf.

Only 2sg. and 3sg. suf. may be used:

1sg. + 2sg. /-ai/ dekhai dekhsai

+ 3sg. /-æs/ dekhæs dekhsæs

As often with suf., causatives are liable to further reduction by the elision or omission of /'-a-/ . The above paradigm of /dekh-/ 'see' may be contrasted with that of /dikha-/ 'show':

1sg. + 2sg. /-ai/ dikhaï

+ 3sg. /-æs/ dikhaæs < dikhaæs

The accent is preserved in the future of verbs with pr.-fut. /'-e/ in CS, but is transferred with loss of /'-e-/ in N:

1sg. + 2sg. /-ai/ CS dikhesai vs. N dikhsai

/-æs/ dikhesæs dikhsæs

c) 3sg. pr. subjunctive and future + suf.

All suf. except 1pl. are used. Forms for the two tenses are parallel, except in 2sg., the only instance of 2sg. /-a/ (in the future), and in 2pl. where there is a change of accent in the pr. subjunctive:

3sg. + 1sg. /-im/ dekhim dekhsim

+ 2sg. /-ia/ dekhsia

/-i/ dekhi ~ S dekhsí

+ 3sg. /-is/ dekhis dekhsis

+ 2pl. /-eve/ dikheve dekhseve

+ 3pl. /-me/ dekhine dekhsine

3sg. + 2pl. may also be /-ehe/, preferred after a preceding /v/, thus /ave/ > /avehe/.

Although these forms are clearly derived from 3sg. /dekhé dekhsí/ they may also be used with 3pl. subjects.

d) conditional I + suf.

1sg. and 3sg. pr. subjunctive forms + suf. are also, although rarely, used with the invariable particle /ha/ as conditional I + suf., thus 3sg.+ 3sg. /dekhis ha/.

5.3 PARTICIPIAL TENSES + DIRECT SUFFIXES

Direct suffixes are used only with the pr. ptc. as conditional II (4.16.2) and with the past ptc. as past tense (4.16.4).

a) conditional II + suf.

This tense is not often used with dir. suf. Only 1sg. (rare) and 2sg. suf. can be used:

+1sg.	/-v <u>m</u> /	<u>d</u> edhum	<u>t</u> urdum
+2sg. m.	/-ð/	<u>d</u> edh <u>ð</u>	<u>t</u> urd <u>ð</u>
f.	/-ið/	<u>d</u> edhi <u>ð</u>	<u>t</u> urdi <u>ð</u>

Conditional II does not admit the use of obl. suf.

b) past + suf.

All four dir. suf. can be used with the past, and this is their commonest use. Only intr. verbs can take dir. suf., since verbs following the ergative construction in the past will have obl. suf. only (5.4). There is no distinction for gender in past + suf. The pl. suf. involve a shift of accent, with weakening of the root and loss of /-a-/ in the few intr. roots of the type /šarma-/ 'be ashamed': when the ptc. is in /-ea/ there is variable accent in 1sg. These changes are illustrated in the paradigms:

+ 1sg.	/-v <u>m</u> /	<u>t</u> ryum	ayum	šarmayum	pe <u>v</u> m ~ pyom
+ 2sg.	/-ð/	<u>t</u> ry <u>ð</u>	ay <u>ð</u>	šarmay <u>ð</u>	pe <u>ð</u>
+ 1pl.	/-'ose/	<u>t</u> ryose	ayose	šarmyose	pyose
+ 2pl.	/-'ohe/	<u>t</u> ryoh <u>e</u>	ayoh <u>e</u>	šarmyoh <u>e</u>	pyoh <u>e</u>

Variant forms of the pl. as /-'ase -'ahe/ are occasionally used still, and are found in the older poetry. 2pl. /-'ove/ is a rare variant. /h/ is lost regularly in 2pl./rihoe/ < /rhah-/ 'remain' (1.12.6).

5.4 PAST + OBLIQUE SUFFIXES

Obl. suf. may be used with the past of all verbs in senses corresponding to a d-ac. or pos. pronoun, while their most frequent use is with the past of tr. verbs corresponding to an obl. pronoun as subject in the ergative construction.

There is a full set of forms for all six persons. As in the past + dir. suf. there is no distinction for gender, but the number of the verb is distinguished in 2sg. and 3sg. All forms other than 1sg. /-um/, 2sg. /-o/ and 3sg. /-us/ always involve a shift of accent and weakening of the root, including loss of /'-a-/ in causatives such as /pʌka-/ 'cook'. The verb is always third person:

3sg./pl. + 1sg. /-um/	maryum	ayum	pʌkayum	peum ~ pyom
3sg. + 2sg. /-o/	maryo	ayo	pʌkayo	peo
/-'oi/	~ mʌryoi	~ Ayo	~ pʌkyoi	~ pyoi
pl. + 2sg. /-oni/	mʌryoni	Ayon	pʌkyoni	pyoni
3sg. + 3sg. /-us/	maryus	ayus	pʌkayus	peus ~ pyos
/-'osi/	~ mʌryosi	~ Ayosi	~ pʌkyosi	~ pyosi
pl. + 3sg. /-onis/	maryonis	Ayonis	pʌkyonis	pyonis
3sg./pl. + 1pl. /-ose/	maryose	Ayose	pʌkyose	pyose
sg./pl. + 2pl. /-ohe/	mʌryohe	Ayohe	pʌkyohe	pyohe
sg./pl. + 3pl. /-one/	mʌryone	Ayone	pʌkyone	pyone

Sg. + 2sg. has a further variant /'-ohi/: /'-ohe/ is used to the exclusion of /'-ove/ in 2pl. Variants with /'-a-/ for /'-o-/ are possible but rare.

The two double suffixes (5.1) are sometimes used with the past of tr. verbs:

3sg./pl. + 1sg. + 2sg.	/-umi/	maryumi
+ 3sg.	/-omis/	mʌryomis

5.5 PRESENT AUXILIARY + SUFFIXES

The pr. aux. + obl. suf. has sets of both full and short forms:

	full forms	short forms
3sg./pl. + 1sg.	him ~ hime ~ himi	im ~ mi
3sg. + 2sg.	hi ~ hivi ~ S hai	i ~ vi ~ S ai
pl. + 2sg.	C hini ~ S hen	ni ~ C ini ~ S eni
3sg. + 3sg.	his ~ hisi	is ~ si
pl. + 3sg.	C hnisi ~ S henis	nis ~ C nis ~ S enis
3sg./pl. + 1pl.	C hise ~ S hese	se ~ C ise ~ S ese
sg./pl. + 2pl.	C hrve ~ S heve	ve ~ C rve ~ S eve
sg./pl. + 3pl.	C hne ~ S hene	ne ~ C me ~ S ene

As in the case of the past + obl. suffixes the number of the verb is distinguished only + 2sg./3sg. suf., and is always third person.

In contrast with the simple pr. aux. (4.15.1), the use of the full forms of the pr. aux. + suf. is normal: the longer forms with the sg. suf. are slightly more emphatic than /him hi his/.

The most common use of the short forms is after a ptc. in periphrastic tenses. The use of the present with contracted short forms of the pr. aux. + suf., although common in older texts, appears to be obsolescent: the paradigm follows exactly that of the perfect of verbs with past ptc. in /-a/ given below.

5.5.1 Perfect + oblique suffixes

The most common use of the short forms of the pr. aux. + suf. is in the perfect, especially of tr. verbs, with suf. corresponding to an obl. pronoun as subject in the ergative construction.

The paradigm illustrates possible contracted forms in the perfect of a tr. verb with past ptc. in /-a/: rules for writing elisions follow those given for the simple pr. aux. (4.15.2). The verb is always third person, but the ptc. will inflect for gender and number (4.16.5):

	<u>mas.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
3sg. + 1sg.	C pitæm ~ S pitim	piti im ~ S pitum
+ 2sg.	pitai	pitri
+ 3sg.	C pitæs ~ S pitis	piti is ~ S pitus
+ 1pl.	C pitæse ~ S pitese	piti se
+ 2pl.	C pitæve ~ S piteve	piti ve
+ 3pl.	C pitæne ~ S pitene	piti ne
3pl. + 1sg.	C pite im ~ S pitim	C pitæm ~ S pitum
+ 2sg.	pitini ~ piteni	pitri ni ~ C pitæni ~ S pitreni
+ 3sg.	pitinis ~ pitenis	piti ni ~ C pitænis ~ S pitrenis
+ 1pl.	pitise ~ pitese	piti se ~ C pitæse ~ S pitëse
+ 2pl.	pitive ~ piteve	piti ve ~ C pitæve ~ S pitëve
+ 3pl.	pitine ~ pitene	piti ne ~ C pitæne ~ S pitëne

Full forms are quite freely employed also, to avoid confusions and awkward vowel sequences. Sg./pl. + 1sg. /-mi/ and sg. + 3sg. /-si/ properly imply a sense of immediacy in the perfective action, but their convenience in avoiding awkward vowel sequences probably accounts for their use in other contexts too, as equivalent to a simple perfect. Since /-mi/ is reserved for this use, the only possible double suffix is 1sg. + 3sg. /-mis ~ -imis/. This is rare:

	mas.	fem.
sg. + 1sg. + 3sg.	C pitæmís ~ S pitímís	piti mis
pl. + 1sg. + 3sg.	pite mis	pitrā mis

The perfect + suf. from verbs with past ptc. in /-ya/ diverges markedly in the mas. sg. in C from the paradigm, while causatives in /-'aya/ demonstrate the usual further contractions involving loss of /-'a-/:

	mas.	mas.
3sg. + 1sg.	marya im	pkakæm > pkæm
+ 2sg.	marya i ~ maryli	pkaya i > pkai
+ 3sg.	marya is	pkakæs > pkæs
+ 1pl.	marya se	pkakæse
+ 2pl.	marya ve	pkakæve
+ 3pl.	marya ne	pkakæne

Other genders and numbers follow the paradigm, although further contractions of the ptc. in /-'aya/ are possible, e.g. fem. sg. + 1sg. /pkai im > pkaim/, + 3sg. /pkai is > pkais/.

Intr. verbs do not commonly have perfect + obl. suf. The perfect of /po-/, commonly used in forming modal compound verbs (7.7.1), may be cited as an example of the contractions possible in C in the perfect of a verb with past ptc. in /-ea/:

	mas.	fem.
3sg. + 1sg.	pæm	paɪ im ~ paɪ mi
+ 2sg.	paɪ	paɪ i ~ paɪ
+ 3sg.	pæs	paɪ is ~ paɪ si
+ 1pl.	pæse	paɪ se
+ 2pl.	pæve	paɪ ve
+ 3pl.	pæne	paɪ ne

3pl. + 1sg.	pæm	peā im ~ pæm
+ 2sg.	pæni	peani
+ 3sg.	pænis	peanis
+ 1pl.	pæse	peā se ~ pæse
+ 2pl.	pæve	peā ve ~ pæve
+ 3pl.	pæne	peā ne

Persons other than 3sg. and 3pl. are theoretically possible: the only common form is 2sg. (mas.) + 3sg. /pæs/.

5.6 NEGATIVE PRESENT AUXILIARY

While the simple negative /nhī ~ nī/ may be used to express the negative of the pr. aux. (4. 15. 4), there also exist personal negative forms clearly cognate with the pronominal suffixes. These are restricted to 1sg., 2sg., 1pl. and 2pl., like the dir. suffixes.

There also exists a set of forms corresponding to the negative of the pr. aux. + suf. (5. 5): like the obl. suf., these exist for all persons.

These sets are a quite distinctive feature of the language:

	<u>neg. pr. aux.</u>		<u>neg. pr. aux. + suf.</u>
1sg.	nimhi	+ 1sg.	nimhi
2sg.	C nēh ~ nivhē	+ 2sg.	nivhi
	~ S nivhi	+ 3sg.	nisi
1pl.	nise	+ 1pl.	nise
2pl.	nivhe	+ 2pl.	nivhe
		+ 3pl.	ninhe

Most items appear in both sets. /nisi/ may be used as an emphatic variant for /nhī ~ nī/ as neg. pr. aux., normally as 3sg.

The second set is often used with the prefixes /koi- ~ kæ-/ , which may serve to mark the distinction from the first set, thus /koimimhi ~ kænimhi/ 'I have not' vs. /himhi/ 'I am not'. But prefixed forms may also be used in the simple neg. pr. aux.

The neg. pr. aux. may be used to form the negative of the present and of the perfect of intr. verbs. The neg. pr. aux. + suf. provides negative forms of the present + suf., and of the perfect + suf.

5.7 PAST AUXILIARY + SUFFIXES

The aux. is always 3sg. or 3pl. All suffixes are used:

3sg./pl. + 1sg.	hʌm ~ [haɪm] > hæm
3sg. + 2sg.	havi
pl. + 2sg.	hani
3sg. + 3sg.	has
pl. + 3sg.	hanis
3sg./pl. + 1pl.	hase
sg./pl. + 2pl.	have
sg./pl. + 3pl.	hane

Forms + 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. are identical with the corresponding persons of the simple past aux. (4.15.3). One double suffix is possible:

3sg./pl. + 1sg. + 3sg. hamis

This is used only in the pluperfect + suf., which is much more frequent than the imperfect + suf. Neither tense involves contracted forms.

The neg. past aux. + suf. is formed by prefixing /nʌ/. Prefixed forms typically mark the distinction from the simple neg. past aux. (4.15.4) as in the neg. pr. aux., thus /koinəham/ 'I had not' vs. /nʌhəm/ 'I was not'.

CHAPTER 6

THE NOMINAL PHRASE

6.1 SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASES

These consist of a single word only, normally a noun, an adjective or a pronoun:

/chohər/	'a boy'
/ʌmir/	'the rich'
/kui/	'someone'

Some parts of the verb are used as nouns or adjectives (7.10-11):

/dhrukən/	'to run'
/dhrukən vala/	'runner'

Adverbs may also occur as simple nominal phrases, but normally only in the special type of adverbial phrases (6.4).

Adjectives and pronouns presuppose an absence of modification, since they can occur as the main element of a nominal phrase only in simple nominal phrases: there is no such restriction on the use of nouns. All types of word so far mentioned may also occur as subordinate elements in complex nominal phrases.

6.2 MODIFIERS OF NOUNS

Complex nominal phrases have by definition a noun as their main element. Modifiers normally precede the noun and undergo appropriate morphological change to show concord with it for gender and number. Types of modifier are:

a) adjectives

/cəni̯a chohər/	'good boy'
/cəni̯ā chorhi/	'good girls'

b) numerals

/du chohər/	'two boys'
/chi həzər rupə/	'six thousand rupees'

Numerals precede adjectives, unless the adjective qualifies the numeral:

/du cañiā chorhī/	'two good girls'
/pure du sao rupae/	'quite two hundred rupees'

c) pronouns

Possible modifiers are demonstrative, indefinite and possessive pronouns, as well as pronominal adjectives. These all precede other items in the phrase:

/e car puraṇiā kitabā/	'these four old books'
/kui cañā admi/	'some good man'
/tuhada dujha dost/	'your other friend'
/bae træ hafte/	'a further three weeks'

Demonstrative and possessive pronouns may precede or follow each other:

/e sadi boli ~ sadi e boli/	'this language of ours'
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d) interjections

These are confined to vocative phrases, in which they come first:

/oe kutyā/	'hey you dog !'
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e) nominal phrases + adjectival ppn. (2.7.1.a)

Both simple and complex nominal phrases may occur: the main element, and any modifiers of this, will be obl. The commonest ppn. is /da/:

/Amirā di kothi/	'a house of rich people'
/unhā Amir lokā di kothi/	'the house of those rich people'
/larīā vala ada/	'lorry stand'
/tāe jhāī chohīr/	'a girl like you'

f) concord

Modifiers inflect for concord with the main element in a nominal phrase. The only exception to the rules given in 2.5.1 is the occasional use of f. sg. modifier with f. pl. noun. This is due to the influence of U, which does not employ f. pl. modifiers:

/mulk drā cundhī ~ (mulk di cundhī)/	'the corners of the country'
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6.2.1 Post-modifiers

Post-modifiers are much less common, but include:

a) honorifics

These include the honorific particle /ji/ and the enclitic honorific /hoñe ~ hoña ~ hoñi/, as well as the specialized use of such nouns as /sāī ~ səhīb/ 'master' in the sense of 'Mr.' Honorifics are used only after names and terms of address:

/amā hoñi/	'mother dear'
/sadīk sāī/	'Mr. Sadiq'

Similar is the use of possessive pronouns in a few set phrases:

/ma mādi/	'mother mine'
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b) adjectives

A few adjectives are often, but not invariably, used as post-modifiers:

/bal šoda/	'the poor child'
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c) longer modifiers

Longer phrasal modifiers often follow the noun: this is especially true of relative clauses introduced by the pronouns /jo ~ jerha/ (8.8.3).

6.3 MODIFIERS OF ADJECTIVES

These are more restricted than modifiers of nouns: some are used only with numerals. Most modifiers precede the adjective:

a) intensive modifiers

These include adverbs such as /bʌhū/ 'very', /bɪlkʊl/ 'quite' or adjectives such as /vʌda bʌra dədha/, which can all be used in the specialized sense of 'very':

/bʌhū pıra manzər/	'a very lovely view'
/bɪlkʊl tħik jʌvab/	'a quite correct answer'
/dədhi soñhi chohır/	'a very beautiful girl'

b) indefinite pronouns

/kujh/ is used with adjectives:

/kujh cəña admi/	'quite a good fellow'
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But /kvi/ is used with numerals, without inflexion:

/kvi dəh admi/	'some ten men'
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A similar sense is given by the juxtaposition of different numerals:

/pʌn̩j chi admi/ 'half a dozen men'

c) adverbial nominal phrases

The nominal phrase may be simple or complex, and the main element will be obl., followed by a ppn. of any class. The main element is usually a noun, but may be a pronoun in a simple phrase:

/bhʌt̩ vāgū t̩ati ret/ 'sand as hot as a furnace'

/t̩ʌd̩e pañi nal bhʌrya g̩las/ 'a glass filled with cold water'

An important sub-category is that of comparative phrases ending in /kʌnū ~ kolū/ 'than':

/mæde kolū s̩rañe lok/ 'people cleverer than I'

/sʌbh kʌnū vʌdi imarat/ 'the biggest building of all'

6.3.1 Post-modifiers

These are even more restricted than post-modifiers of nouns (6.2.1). When used after adjectives /jheā/, elsewhere an adjectival ppn., has the sense of 'quite, -ish':

/vca jheā t̩iba/ 'quite a high hill'

Numerals have the special indefinite post-modifier /khʌn/. This is used with round numbers only:

/hʌzar khʌn sal/ 'about a thousand years'

Longer phrasal modifiers follow adjectives much more rarely than nouns.

6.4 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Adverbial phrases may modify adjectives (6.3. a, c). Other types, which may modify verbs (8.4), include:

a) adverbs (3.2-4)

/ɪθ/ 'here' /ʌj/ 'to-day'

/nʌ/ 'not' /ʌndɪr/ 'inside'

b) adjectives

These are freely used to modify verbs as adverbs in concord with the subject or as m. obl. sg., thus /t̩ikha/ 'swift' > /t̩ikha ~ t̩ikhe/ 'swifly' (8.4).

c) adverbial nominal phrases

These may be simple or complex. Simple phrases usually consist of a noun in loc., sometimes in abl:

/l^{ie}ie/ 'at Leiah' /rati/ 'by night'

/skulū/ 'from the school'

In complex phrases the main element is usually a noun, either in loc. or abl. or in obl. +ppn.:

/sade šahrē/ 'in our cities'

/apne għarū/ 'from one's own house'

/i mloke te/ 'on this occasion'

/ħazarā xudavā di bħajnej/ 'in place of thousands of gods'

d) subordinate verbal phrases

These are separately itemized below (7.12).

6.5 REITERATION

The reiteration of an element in a nominal phrase conveys emphasis, often also a sense of completeness or of distribution.

a) nouns

These are commonly repeated only in adverbial phrases, usually conveying a sense of completeness or of distribution:

/galħi galħi vic sara vakt zae hōda vədæ/N54¹

'Time is being wasted in all this talking.'

/vari vari saryā kū catus/N95

'He lifted them all in turn.'

b) pronouns

These are used in a similar sense, both in simple phrases and as modifiers of nouns:

/e klon klon in/N358 'Who are all these people ?'

/e šer asā kinhā kinhā kītabā icū golū/

'In which books are we to search for this verse ?'

¹ References for the quotations are to page-numbers of the texts cited in the second Bibliography.

c) numerals

The sense is normally distributive:

/car car thi ke ao/

'Come by fours.'

/multan de h̄ik h̄ik admi kānū puchya īm/

'I have asked each and every man
in Multan.'

d) adjectives

A distributive sense is sometimes implied:

/d̄ava da cāmcā thori thori der de bad dēdi rāhē/N249

'Keep giving him a dose of
medicine at short intervals.'

But the reiteration of qualitative adjectives is purely intensive:

/apne tate tate hoṭh ūde hoṭhā nal mīla dītonīs/N97

'She pressed her burning lips to
his.'

e) adverbs

Reiteration of adverbs to convey emphasis is common:

/māṭhē māṭhē bolo/

'Speak (rather) slowly!'

/sade kolū kīū parhe parhe rāhdyo/

'Why do keep so far away from
us?'

6.6 LINKED NOMINAL PHRASES

Nominal phrases may be linked by co-ordinating conjunctions (3.6.a), of which the commonest is /te/ 'and'. /te/ may link whole nominal phrases:

/bheṇo te bhīravo/

'sisters and brothers!'

In a series of linked phrases /te/ appears before the last member only:

/cārxā kātāṇ, cāki pihāṇ te ghār de kām kar ic/J44

'in spinning, grinding and house-
hold tasks'

/te/ may also link modifiers within complex nominal phrases:

/bolīā te zubanā da taluk/V16 'the connexion of languages and
tongues'

/vn̥hā da farsi ḥrbi te s̥iræki k̥lam/J42

'his Persian, Arabic and Siraiki
verse'

Modifiers of nouns linked by /te/ will usually be in concord with the first:

/vn̥hē d̥rā košišā te x̥idmat/V67

'his efforts and service'

The conjunction /ya/ 'or' is used similarly to /te/, but may appear before both members of the linked phrase:

/ya ṫslam ya t̥lvar/

'either Islam or the sword!'

The usual function of /par/ 'but' is to link clauses, but it may link adjectives within a nominal phrase:

/soňha par udas cehra/

'a beautiful but sad face'

6.7 COMPOUND NOMINAL PHRASES

Compound nominal phrases are distinct both from complex phrases involving subordination, and linked phrases involving the use of a conjunction. Several types of compound nominal phrase are to be distinguished.

6.7.1 Apposition

Only phrases of the same type may be used in apposition, thus two nominal phrases:

/mæda trijha putr išhak/

'my third son Ishaq'

The most frequent type of apposition has two adverbial phrases:

/sʌjyū khʌbyū/

'from left and right'

/vele kuvele/

'in season and out of season'

/čʌnčaŋ terhvī kū/

'on Saturday the thirteenth'

Apposition within nominal phrases is rare but possible:

/tusā bh̥ravā di t̥nkid/Niii

'your criticism, brothers'

Adjectival modifiers of distinct meaning are usually linked by a conjunction, but may be in apposition:

/mæla puraňa řʌhʌr/

'dirty old city'

Apposition is normally confined to pairs of phrases, longer sequences having a conjunction, usually /te/, before the last member.

6.7.2 True compounds

Compound pronouns and adverbs have already been discussed (2.12; 3.2.1). Compound nouns and adjectives include many loans from E and U (1.11.4), especially in educated speech and writing, which do not call for analysis here, as well as the following types:

a) noun + noun

There is a small class of pairs of nouns denoting relations conventionally used together to yield a compound embracing the meanings of both:

/ma/	'mother'	+	/priu/	'father'	>	/ma priu ~ priu ma/	'parents'
/priu/	'father'	+	/putr/	'son'	>	/priu putr/	'father and son'
/zal/	'wife'	+	/mārd/	'husband'	>	/zal mārd/	'husband and wife'

Such pairs are distinguished by their conventional inflexion as a collective plural, only the second member taking the case-morpheme:

/dūhaē zal mārdā dīā nāzrā/N64

'the looks of both husband and wife'

Some of these compounds form derivative abstract nouns, such as /priu putrai/ 'father-son relationship'.

Many other pairs of nouns of similar meaning are conventionally used together, but without the distinctive inflexion of the first type:

/dāori sōta/	'mortar and pestle'
/khir khānd/	'milk and sugar'

b) obl. noun + noun / adjective

These are modifying compounds, in which the first noun modifies the meaning of the second to yield a new collective meaning for the compound. Since the first noun is always sg., only nouns of declension I show inflexion for the obl.:

nouns

/mārān/	'to die'	+	/māñja/	'bed'	>	/mārān māñja/	'death-bed'
/lēla/	'lamb'	+	/bak/	'bleat'	>	/lēla bak/	'early morning'
/sād/	'call'	+	/pāndh/	'distance'	>	/sād pāndh/	'calling-distance'

adjectives

/gata/	'nape'	+	/bhʌna/	'broken'
				> /gate bhʌni/ (a mild insult)
/ma/	'mother'	+	/jaya/	'born'
				> /ma jaya/ 'full (brother)'

This is the most productive class of true compounds. As in the next type, the primary accent falls on the tonic of the first element (1.11.4). Transcription of these compounds as two words is in accordance with native orthography: but in some cases historical compounds are to be regarded as single words, thus /pɪchlag/ 'hanger-on' < /pɪche/ 'behind' + /laɡ-/ 'be attached'.

c) abl. noun + noun / adjective

These are also modifying compounds, like the more common type with abl. noun as first element. Nouns are rarely used as the second element:

/sotr/	'father's brother's son (daughter)'	> /sotrū sotr/ 'cousin's cousin, any distant relation'
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Adjectival compounds are more frequent:

/sir/	'head'	+	/nʌŋga ~ [raŋha]/	'bare'
			> /sirū nʌŋga ~ [raŋha]/	'bare-headed'
/hʌth/	'hand'	+	/xali/	'empty'

> /hʌthū xali/ 'empty-handed'

The frequency with which these and similar items occur suggest their separate classification, although they could be regarded as special cases of adjectives modified by adverbial nominal phrases (6.3.c), of the type exemplified by:

/muhabbat kane bhʌrpur nazrā/ N90	'looks filled with love'
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d) adjective + noun

This is an unusual type in that the adjective precedes the noun which acts as a post-modifier:

/kula/	'soft'	+	/bhʌt/	'boiled rice'
				> /kula bhʌt/ 'soft as boiled rice'
/cɪta/	'white'	+	/khir/	'milk'

> /cɪta khir/ 'milk-white'

Only the adjective inflects, thus:

/cite khir mukhre te/N42 'on his milk-white face'

6.7.3 Doublet compounds

Doublet compounds are distinguished from true compounds by the fact that it is always the first element which gives the phrase its meaning. The second element, which may itself be meaningless, is phonetically conditioned by the first, whose meaning is altered only by imprecise expansion, unlike the true compounds of the type /d_aori s_ot_a/ 'mortar and pestle' (6.7.2.a) which some types of doublet compound superficially resemble.

a) echo doublets

These are the simplest type, applicable to almost any noun, but confined to colloquial speech. The second element is a meaningless reiteration of the first, with /š-/ substituted for an initial consonant or prefixed to an initial vowel:

/ghiu/ 'ghee' > /ghiu ſiu/

/ʌndə/ 'egg' > /ʌnde řʌnde/

Nouns with initial /š- / substitute /m-/:

/šiša/ 'glass, mirror' > /šiše miše/

b) alliterative doublets

The second element is predictable from the first only as alliterating with it. The second element may be meaningless by itself, and often has a different syllabic pattern:

/cori/ 'theft' > /cori cikari/

/chohʌr/ 'boy' > /chohʌr chatikkʌr/

Adjectives may not have echo doublets, but may have alliterative doublets:

/sonha/ 'beautiful' > /sonha s^AV^Addha/

Synonymous nouns are also frequently linked in alliterative doublets, with imprecise expansion of the meaning:

c) rhyming doublets

The second element is predictable from the first only as rhyming with it, and may be meaningless:

/kur/ 'lies' > /kur badur/

The use of synonymous adjectives in rhyming doublets is particularly common:

/suña/	'forlorn'	+	/muña/	'forlorn'	
				> /suña muña/ 'forlorn'	
/nʌvā/	'new'	+	/sʌvā/	'fresh'	
				> /nʌva sʌvā/ 'quite new'	
/hʌre/	'green'	+	/bhʌre/	'full'	
				> /hʌre bhʌre/ 'green, lush'	

d) synonymous doublets

Doublets of synonyms without phonetic patterning are less common:

/kuṛ/	'lies'	+	/fʌreb/	'deceit'	
				> /kuṛ fʌreb/ 'lies'	
/vʌl/	'twist'	+	/pher/	'turn'	
				> /vʌl pher/ 'twist and turn'	

/šoda/	'needy'	+	/muthaj/	'needy'	
				/šoda muthaj/ 'needy'	

6.7.4 Reiterative compounds

Reiterative compounds represent a specialized instance of the use of reiteration for emphasis (6.5).

a) 'pre-echo' reiteration

This is confined to a few adverbs. The first element is a meaningless rhyme of the second, whose meaning it emphasizes:

/samhṇe/	'in front'	>	/amhṇe samhṇe/	'right in front'
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b) /-o-/ reiteration

Compounds may be formed by the reiteration the same word after /-o-/. Such reiterative compounds are written as one word.

Nouns are converted into adverbs in such compounds, often with a distributive sense:

/dīh/	'day'	>	/dīhodīh/	'from day to day'
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Adjectives are intensified in meaning:

/ʌñj/	'separate'	>	/ʌñjoʌñj/	'quite separate'
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CHAPTER 7

THE VERBAL PHRASE

7.1 MAIN AND SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES

Main verbal phrases are an essential element of sentences, unlike nominal phrases. A simple main verbal phrase is defined as consisting of any of the finite forms of a simple verb, including such forms + suf.:

/julū/	'Shall we go ?'
/akhyvs/	'He said.'
/thik e/	'That's right.'
/caña rʌhsɪ/	'That'll be best.'
/mæ pɪdā/	'I drink.'

Simple main verbal phrases may have more than one element, including auxiliaries and negative adverbs, which are to be regarded as forming integral parts of the phrase:

/mæ pɪdā hʌm/	'I used to smoke.'
/o gea nʌ hosi/	'He will not have gone.'

Compound main verbal phrases consist of similar finite forms of the various types of compound verb which are described in the following paragraphs (7.2-9). Most types are quite dissimilar in formation from complex and compound nominal phrases. More than one type of compound may be used in a single verbal phrase, but the total number of elements seldom exceeds four.

Subordinate verbal phrases have as their main element a non-finite verbal form. These phrases may be classified as nominal, adjectival or adverbial (7.10-12), and are similar in function to the comparable types of nominal phrase (6.1-2, 4), except that the adverbial type may modify verbs only, not adjectives.

Other elements subordinate to a main verbal phrase are described in the context of the sentence in Chapter 8.

7.2 NOMINAL CONJUNCT VERBS

These are composed of a pre-verbal noun or adjective used in conjunction with a verb. Only a few verbs are commonly used

to form conjunct verbs:

<u>to form tr. conjuncts</u>	<u>to form intr. conjuncts</u>
/kər-/ 'do'	/thi-/ 'become'
/de-/ 'give'	/ho-/ 'be'
/ghət-/ 'cast'	/a-/ 'come'
/ghɪn-/ 'take'	/po-/ 'lie'
/kha-/ 'eat'	
/mar-/ 'beat'	

/ho-/ 'be' is used to form intr. conjuncts only as an alternative to the much preferred /thi-/ 'become': this is a modern imitation of U P, which have only /ho-/ (4.15.5).

Most conjuncts take their meaning from the pre-verbal and function as verbs of corresponding meaning, especially pairs formed with /kər-/ (tr.) and /thi-/ (intr.), which account for the majority of all conjuncts, thus:

/šv'ru/ 'beginning'	> /šuru kər-/ 'begin' (tr.)
	/šuru thi-/ 'begin' (intr.)

But conjuncts may also have extended meanings:

/sɪdha/ 'straight'	> /sɪdha kər-/ 'straighten, reform'
	/sɪdha thi-/ 'be straightened, reformed; lie down straight'

In a small group of conjuncts the meaning derives from the verb, the pre-verbal being a noun cognate with the root:

/gā-/ 'sing'	> /gāna gā-/ 'sing (a song)'
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Many of the commonest nouns give rise to a wide range of conjuncts as pre-verbals. The meanings of such conjuncts are often quite unpredictable from the constituent elements, thus:

/hath/ 'hand'	+ /a-/	'come'
	> /hath a-/	'be blamed'
+ /ca-/	'raise'	
	> /hath ca-/	'desert'
+ /de-/	'give'	
	> /hath de-/	'promise, blame'
+ /ghət-/	'cast'	
	> /hath ghət-/	'seize'

- + /kʌr-/ 'do'
 > /hʌθ kʌr-/ 'grasp'
+ /rʌkh-/ 'put'
 > /hʌθ rʌkh-/ 'patronize'

Nominal conjunct verbs may form main verbal phrases:

- /fɪləm ūru thʌi/ 'The film began.'
/ū gana gāvya/ 'He sang (a song).'
/chohɪr kū hʌθ ghʌtys/ 'He seized the girl.'

7.3 CATENATIVE COMPOUNDS

These compounds are formed with a catenative ptc. (4.9.1) and a second verb freely conjugated. The basic meaning of the compound is determined by the first element, but is modified by the second in various ways.

7.3.1 Modal catenative compounds

The first element may be any verb, while the second is drawn from a restricted list of specialized verbs or forms of verbs used in a specialized sense:

- a) catenative ptc. + /CS sʌg- ~ CN sʌŋg- / 'be able to do'

/sʌg- ~ sʌŋg- / may be used only in such compounds, which are used freely in all tenses:

- /o sɪræki bol sʌŋgðæ/ 'He can speak Siraiki.'

- /ʌxtar uṭhi nʌ sʌgya/ N250 'Akhtar could not get up.'

- b) catenative ptc. ± /bʌh- ~ cuk- /

'have finished doing, have already done'

The first alternative is a specialized use of /bʌh- / 'sit', normally confined to tenses formed from the past ptc.:

- /o akh bæṭhi hai/ N141 'She had already spoken.'

/cuk- / is also confined to tenses formed from the past ptc., and is used only in such compounds. As distinct from the independent verb /cuk- / 'err', this /cuk- / probably represents a loan from the U /cuk- / used in the same way, although instances of its use are found

in older poetry:

/nibh evkye vakt darmalre de/F176

'The times for a cure are already past.'

c) catenative ptc. + /rʌh-/ 'finish doing, stop doing'

One of several specialized uses of /rah-/ 'remain', such compounds are usual in tenses other than those formed from the past ptc.;

/kha ræh/

'Stop eating!'

/o roti kha rʌhsɪ sadɪ galh sun̩si/

'Once he has finished eating, he will listen to us.'

d) catenative ptc. + /reha/ + aux. 'be doing'

This is another specialized use of /rʌh-/:

/o roti kha rahi e/ 'She is eating.'

Such compounds are liable to confusion with the previous type, i.e., as 'she has finished eating', and are much less common than other compounds with a continuous sense (7.7.1): they represent an imperfectly established loan from U P, e.g., U/voh khana kha rəhi hə/.

7.3.2 Intensive catenative compounds

These constitute a much larger class, to whose analysis and description, as they occur in related languages such as Hindi, a considerable amount of attention has been devoted. Only a summary account is given here.

The meaning of the first element is reinforced rather than substantially modified by the second, which has no independent meaning. The second element is drawn from a restricted list of verbs and is freely conjugated. While the verb in nominal conjuncts (7.2) is lexically determined by the pre-verbal, there is no such immediately apparent connexion between the elements in intensive catenative compounds, other than the use of tr. and intr. verbs with tr. and intr. reinforcers.

a) intr. intensive compounds

These are mostly formed with:

/po-/ 'lie', used only with intr. verbs, and often implying sudden action in the past.

/vʌn-/ 'go', the commonest and weakest of all reinforcers, used with both tr. and intr. verbs

The difference made by the use of an intensive compound to the meaning of the first element is not always translatable, although it sometimes corresponds to the use of such English compounds as 'speak out' vs. 'speak':

/ax̥ɪr chohər p̥iu de samhṇe ala pya/

'Finally the boy spoke out before his father.'

/aj̥ da d̥ih ræh povo/N50

'Stay for to-day.'

/chokri dujhe pase nikil g̥ai/N74

'The girl went out the other way.'

Passive stems, which have no true past ptc. (4.11), are quite commonly used in such compounds in the past:

/khir vit̥ij pya/

'The milk was spilt.'

/sanduk da kūda murrij gya ha/V31

'The lock of the box had been forced.'

Verbs other than /po-/ and /vʌñ-/ seldom occur as reinforcers in intr. intensive compounds outside such isolated idiomatic uses as /baeh thi/ 'sit down!'

b) tr. intensive compounds

The first element is always a tr. verb, usually followed by one of the tr. reinforcers listed below. These convey different shades of reinforcement:

/gh̥in-/ 'take', implies action directed towards the doer, often with a sense of completion, sometimes of a barely accomplished action.

/de-/ 'give', the commonest tr. reinforcer, implying action directed away from the doer.

/chor-/ 'leave', also common, and virtually synonymous with /de-/ as a reinforcer.

/ghat-/ 'cast', less common but more forceful than /de- ~ chor-/.

/sat̥-/ 'throw', similar in frequency and force to /ghat-/

A few other reinforcers are sometimes used, but the above five account for the great majority of tr. intensive compounds:

/mǣ inhā gajrā kū kha gh̥insā/

'I'll (manage to) eat up these carrots.'

/ukū tarha dītus ~ tarha choryos/

'He chased him away.'

/Axtar husæn xan kū razzamand kar ghātyus/N72

'Akhtar forced Husain Khan to agree.'

/nazu ḥṛṇē hāñjū pūjh satye/N259

'Nazu wiped away her tears.'

7.4 VERBAL SEQUENCES

Reiteration, common in nominal phrases (6.5), does not characterize main verbal phrases, except in one specialized type:

/nazu di hāñj rukn̄ vīc nā ai te nā ai/N116

'Nazu's tears came nowhere near stopping.' (lit. 'did not come and did not come in stopping')

This type is also the only regular instance of linkage by conjunctions within a main verbal phrase. Whereas parallel nominal phrases are normally so linked (6.6), main verbal phrases within a sentence, having the same subject, are normally patterned in sequences in which the second verb only is freely conjugated. The first verb is used in the catenative, connective or catenative ptc., the choice depending on the closeness of the connexion between the actions denoted by the two verbs.

7.4.1 Catenative sequences

These are characterized by the same formal arrangement of catenative ptc. + conjugated verb as intensive catenative compounds (7.3.2). But in sequences both elements preserve their meaning, the first verb denoting an action prior in time to that denoted by the second, but subordinated to the latter. The second element is not restricted to any list, and may include verbs specified as reinforcers. In sequences these will retain their meaning:

/kītabā vi ghm dītonis/A8

'He bought books too, and gave them to him.'

A few catenative sequences are so common that they may be regarded as 'sequential compounds', thus /ghm a-/ 'take and come' > 'bring'.

While reiteration is not used in inflected main verbal phrases, it is quite common in the first element of catenative sequences to

7.4.1

imply a repeated action:

/mā̄e vi kai dafa pīt pīt thaki ā/N105

'I too have exhausted myself
lamenting this over and over
again.'
(lit. 'often lamenting lamenting
am tired')

7.4.2 Connective sequences

In these sequences the first element is the connective ptc. of a tr. verb (4.11.3), which denotes an action more closely connected in time with that of the second verb than do catenative sequences:

/gamāṇ kane puchi avē/N51 'Ask Gaman (while you're with him, then) come.'

/e ḥta te ghīu għar cai uλño/A30

'Pick up this flour and ghee and go home (with it).'

/kħar putr, ca tā piti uλñ/N279

'Stop, my boy, (at least) have some tea (here) then go.'

The use of a catenative sequence implies a different sequence of actions:

/ca pi uλñ/

'(Come and) have some tea (then) go.'

/ca pi avē/

'(Go and) have some tea (then) come.'

A connective sequence may also contrast with a catenative sequence in implying a more definite affirmation of the action

/mā̄e dane ghīn asā/

'I'll bring the wheat (some time).'

/mā̄e dane ghīdi asā/

'I'll bring the wheat (and come with it immediately).'

The connective ptc. is not reiterated in sequences. Not found in U or in some varieties of P, the connective ptc. is also used to form modal compounds distinctive of Siraiki (7.6).

7.4.3 Conjunctive sequences

The first element in these sequences is a conjunctive ptc., formally a catenative ptc. + /C kār ~ ke ~ S te/ (4.9.2). Conjunctive

sequences imply a still more definite separation between the two actions than do catenative sequences:

/kadırbaxš vi bhıra de gäl lag te runa/N101

'Qadirbakhsh too embraced his brother and wept.'

The relative looseness of the connexion between the elements in conjunctive sequences allows them to be very frequently interrupted by intervening elements dependent on the second verb only, in contrast to catenative and connective sequences, in which such interruptions are much less frequent:

/mæ vāñ te kard bhıjvēdi ā/N163

'I am going and getting the card sent.'

Such sentences can be regarded as representing only a slightly closer connexion between two actions than two separate sentences, i.e. /mæ vādi ā/ 'I am going' + /mæ kard bhıjvēdi ā/ 'I am getting the card sent'.

Reiteration of the first element to imply repetition of the action is quite frequent, as in catenative sequences:

/dakṭar aozar ca ca te bahar vādyā hoyā akhya/N228

'The doctor picked up (each of) his instruments (in turn) and said as he went out.'

The emphatic conjunctive ptc. implies a shorter interval of time between the two actions, but is seldom used:

/e galh sun karahī kələrk ukū ḥıkat de diti/

'Once he had heard this the clerk gave him a ticket.'

Other uses of the conjunctive ptc. are considered below (7.5, 7.12. a).

7.5 CONJUNCTIVE COMPOUNDS

The conjunctive ptc. is also used as the first element in one modal compound:

conjunctive ptc. + /rʌhsɪ/ 'will certainly do'

This compound represents another specialized use of /rʌh/-

'remain', and is used only in the future:

/o nazu kū għarū klađh te rħusi/N267

'She will certainly get Nazu out of the house.'

7.6 CONNECTIVE COMPOUNDS

The connective ptc. of tr. verbs is used in two classes of modal compound:

- a) connective ptc. + /rakh- ~ rakh- ~ vlañ-/ 'keep on doing'

These modal compounds have a strongly continuous sense, and are freely used in any tense. The commonest modifier is /rakh-/ 'put', which is used in no other modal compounds:

/jivē iħnhā hħathā bħnhū arsa ī kū sambħali rakhya hove/N288

'As if these hands had long been looking after her.'

/għulam nabi moṭar bhajji vēda ha/A72

'Għulam Nabi kept the car racing along.'

- b) connective ptc. + /bætha ~ khlaṛa ~ peā ~ vlaða/+ aux.

'(happen to) be doing'

These compounds are less forceful in their implication of continuous action than the foregoing type. Compounds with /bætha/ 'sat' and /khlaṛa/ 'stood' may have a sense of sitting and standing while performing the action, but not necessarily: there is no special additional sense in compounds with /peā/ 'lain'. Compounds with /vlaða/ imply a sense of casual action:

/sanduk da jaandra trori bætha ha/V31

'He was (sitting) breaking the lock of the chest.'

/budhṛa rakh radhi khlaṛa ha/A2

'The old man was (up) sowing the crop.'

/klaṛra taṇi pni hni/A35

'She was weaving cloth.'

/avlañ di tħari o ivi kiti vlaða ha/N54

'He was in fact preparing to come.'

/vʌda/ is an isolated form, though apparently connected with /vʌt-/ 'wander'. In addition to its use in these and other compounds, /vʌda/ may also be used alone with the aux., in various senses:

/ʌj mæ pite mutū vʌdā/

'Well, actually I haven't had anything to drink to-day.'
(lit. 'to-day I am wandering without drinking')

/ʌmā tʌkri vʌdi e/A28

'Mother's quite strong for her age.'
(lit. 'mother goes about quite strong')

7.7 PARTICIPIAL COMPOUNDS

Both present and past participles, regularly inflected for gender and number, are frequently employed to form verbal compounds, in which the other element is a conjugated verb. In most types it is this conjugated verb which acts as modifier, but some compounds have participial modifiers (7.7.3). Unlike the modal compounds so far considered, in which the modifier is the final element in the verbal phrase, there is no fixed order of elements in participial compounds.

7.7.1 Compounds with present participle

a) pr. ptc. + /bætha ~ khʌra ~ pea ~ vʌda/ + aux. 'be doing'

These are the commonest of all compounds with a continuous sense. Compounds with /pea/ are particularly frequent:

/o kʌm kʌrēda pæ/

'He is working.'

This is equivalent in meaning and frequency of usage to the U continuous form /voh kam kər rəha hæ/(7.3.1.d).

As in connective compounds involving the same modifiers (7.6.b), these often have no special sense:

/tusā ūda nā tā nivhe ahde bæthe/N61

'You are not mentioning his name.'

/mūh jerha pagħar kane trimda khʌra ha/N145

'His face, which was dripping with sweat.'

/sade bal tā barfā pakhya de bægær vi jidé vadin/N48

'Our children are living (well enough) even without ice or fans.'

The basic meanings of the modifiers may often be made more prominent by a reversal of the elements, or by the juxtaposition of contrasting modifiers:

/o ghīlā bæ̤thi khādi hai/N16 'She was (sitting) dozing.'

/hīk bhīra luṭīda pe, hīk bhīra luṭēda khāre/A78

'One brother is (lying down)
being robbed, the other brother
is (up) robbing.'

But to be really prominent the latent meaning must be further reinforced:

/xudabāšk jāmu de mūṇḍh nal khār te
sara kujh dedha khāra ha/A70

'Khudabakhsh, standing by the foot
of the jamoo-tree, was (standing)
watching it all.'

b) pr. ptc. + /vāñ-/ 'be doing'

There is a slightly greater stress on the continuity of the action than is present in the foregoing type, and compounds may be freely conjugated in all tenses:

/akhī nindr kāne ghutīda geā/N153

'His eyes were being overcome
by sleep.'

/vākt tezi nal bhājda vāeda ha/N78

'Time was swiftly racing past.'

When /vāñ-/ is itself used in the pr. ptc. the order of elements is freely reversed:

/farhāt ūer vā̤di bāndi hai/N68

'Farhat was becoming (as
ferocious as) a tiger.'

c) pr. ptc. + /rāh-/ 'keep on doing'

/daktār ghar bar de hal hāval puchda reha/N169

'The doctor kept on asking him
how things were at home.'

The distinction in meaning from connective compounds + /rākh- ~ rāh- ~ vāñ-/(7.6.a) is at best a fine one, but may involve less

emphasis on the immediate continuity of the action:

- /pəṛhi rākh ~ pəṛhi rāh/ 'Don't stop now) go on reading.'
 /pəṛhda rāh/ 'Keep reading (over a period).'
 d) pr. ptc. + /thi-/ 'hurry and do'

This is much less common than the foregoing types:

- /axtar piu do tar bhej dīti jo tusā jaldi pujde thivo/N320

'Akhtar sent his father a telegram, saying 'hurry and come here quickly!'

7.7.2 Compounds with past participle

In these compounds the ptc. normally precedes its modifiers.

- a) past ptc. + /bæṭha ~ khṛṣa ~ pea ~ vṛda/ + aux.

'(happen to) be doing'

Only the ptc. of intr. verbs is used in these compounds, which correspond in meaning to those formed with the connective ptc. of tr. verbs and the same modifiers (7.6.b):

- /nīndr kane mariam diā ḥṛpiā khī vi nutrā bæṭhiā han/N13

'Mariam's own eyes were also closing in sleep.'

- /rāṛhī nīsrīā khṛīā han/A5 'The crops were being harvested.'

- /śet bukh lāgi pāi is/N44 'Maybe she is feeling hungry.'

- /nazu di tābiat xārab thāi vṛdi e/N270

'Nazu's health has been getting worse (for some reason).'

- b) past ptc. (intr.) + /vṛñ-/ 'do'

The use of these compounds is very restricted. They have a weak reinforcing sense:

- /nāraz thāe vādeve/N18 'You're getting cross!'

- /māc calya vādā/N195 'I'm going.'

Only /calya vṛñ- ~ ṭurya vṛñ-/ 'go (off)' are at all frequent.

- c) past ptc. (tr.) + /vṛñ-/ 'be done'

This is a periphrastic passive compound of the type standard

in U P;

/e parsal tækū nhī dīta vāñ sagda/

'This parcel cannot be given to you.'

It exists in Siraiki as an alternative to the preferred passive stem, without significant difference in meaning:

/je mʌrij geum ~ je marya geum/

'If I am killed.'

d) past ptc. + /kər-/ 'keep doing'

These compounds are hardly to be distinguished in meaning from those formed with pr. ptc. + /rʌh-/(7. 7. 1.c), but are most frequently employed in the imperative, less often the future. Unlike the superficially similar U P type/jaya kero/ incorporating an invariable m.sg. past ptc. ('gerund'), the ptc. of an intr. verb inflects for gender and number, in agreement with the subject:

/ghʌr a gya kʌr/A8

'Keep coming home!'

/tʊsā rune nʌ kʌro/N285

'Don't keep crying!'

The ptc. of a tr. verb agrees with its object:

/bholiā galhī na kitīā kar/N92

'Don't keep saying such silly things!'

Only if there is no object must the ptc. always be m.sg.:

/lɪkhyə kərō/

'Keep writing!'

7.7.3 Compounds with participial modifier

In these compounds the modifier is again one of the common participial set /bæθa ~ khʌṛa ~ pea ~ vʌda/, although here only /pea/ is at all frequent. The compounds are distinguished from previous types by the fact that the other element is a finite verbal form.

a) future + /pea/ 'will be doing (right away)'

This is in effect a future continuous corresponding to compounds formed with pr. ptc. + /pea/ + aux. (7. 7. 1. a), but there is also a sense of immediacy as to the future action:

/o bʌhū jʌldi ſʌhʌr væsi pʌi/N65

'She will be going to the city very soon.'

/sær te vi vulsū pæ/N188 'We shall be going for a walk too
 ----- (right away).'

b) imperative + /pea/ 'go on and do (then)'

A continuous sense may be implied:

/bı̄šak ro pya/ 'Go on crying then!'

But the sense of the compound is often simply to weaken the immediacy of the command, especially in conjunction with the already less definite aorist imperative:

/šam kū vññahe pæ/N53 '(Why don't you) go in the evening
 ----- then?'

7.8 INFINITIVE COMPOUNDS

The infinitive (4.8.1) is used as the first member of several modal compounds.

a) inf. + /de- / 'allow to, let'

These compounds, representing a specialized use of /de- / 'give', are freely conjugated:

/pri ma vi vala mækū kalij vic daxıl kənə thivən desin/V35

'My parents too will not allow me
 to enter college again.'

/tū ejhe xıal dıl vic na avan dite kər/N117

'Don't keep letting such thoughts
 enter your heart!'

b) inf. + /lag- ~ po- / 'begin to'

These specialized uses of /lag- / 'be attached, seem' and /po- / 'lie' are in free variation:

/hər hık əlah səi kənū mædi sehat di dua məngən laga/V35

'Everyone began to pray to God
 for my recovery.'

/lagū vadħan pya/N157 'He started to move forward.'

The intensive catenative compounds /lag po- ~ pæ vññ- / are equally common:

/bal rovən lag pōdæ/N45 'The child begins to cry.'

/o har kahī kū piari lagān pae gai hai/N56

'She had begun to seem attractive to everyone.'

The nominal conjuncts /šuru kar-/ (tr.) and /šuru thi-/ (intr.) are used in the same way:

/ūde xialat bādlaṇ ſuru thi gae/N157

'His thoughts began to change.'

- c) inf. + /cāh-/ 'want to'

This is not very common, and is probably a loan from U P:

/najma muhabbat de andhe khuh vic

trap na maran cāhdi hai/N178

'Najma did not want to jump blindly into the well of love.'

The gerundive (4.8.2) may replace the inf. in this compound. Other uses of the gerundive, which does not normally form compounds, are discussed below (7.11.1).

- d) abl. inf. + /khar-/ 'stop'

/mih vasnū khar gya/N200 'It stopped raining.'

- e) inf. + /da ~ kite/ + /akh-/ 'tell to'

These and the following compounds are distinguished from the use of the inf. + ppn. in adverbial phrases (7.12.c) only by their frequent idiomatic use. /da/ always remains uninflected:

/mæ ukū aj avan̄ da akhya ha ~ avan̄ kite akhya ha/

'I told him to come to-day.'

- f) inf. + /di/ + /kar-/ 'hurry to'

This is equivalent in meaning to compounds formed with pr. ptc. + /thi-/ (7.7.1.d):

/i palit lothre kū mæ kaḍhaṇ di karā/N42

'Let me hurry up and get rid of this unclean carcass.'

A similar sense is found in other contexts without /kar-/:

/tuhakū tā khuh te vāñlaṇ di paṇ hui e/N20

'You are in a hurry to go to the well!'

These compounds are usually explained as having arisen from older inf. +/di [jʌldi] kʌr-/ 'hurry to'.

g) inf. +/ic ~ vic/+ /nʌ a-/ 'show no signs of'

These compounds, with the literal meaning of 'not to come in' are used in the negative only:

/tufan lʌhʌŋ vic nʌ pya əda ha/N216

'The storm was showing no signs of abating.'

7.9 DOUBLET COMPOUNDS

Verbal doublet compounds resemble nominal doublet compounds (6.7.3) both in their principal types of formation and in their sense, which implies a vague expansion of the meaning of the first element. While verbal doublets are quite widely used, especially in colloquial speech, most types can be formed only for the catenative, conjunctive, present and past participles: these four are also the only verbal forms to be capable of reiteration (7.4.1, 3; 7.12). Types of verbal doublet compound are:

a) alliterative doublets

These are not common, and the second element is usually a close synonym of the first:

/dho-/ 'wash' + /dhā-/ 'bathe' >

/o dhota dhāta bæθhæ/ 'He's scrubbed and clean.'

b) rhyming doublets

This is far the most common type. The second element may be a close synonym of the first:

/gol-/ 'search' + /phərol-/ 'search' >

/ləvzā kū gol phərol te/Niv

'having sought out the words'

But usually the second element is a meaningless rhyme of the first:

/vɪsam-/ 'be numb' >

/nazu vɪsim trɪsim gai/N184

'Nazu became utterly numb.'

/vjar-/ 'destroy' >

/mæde cæn te skun de gulšan kū vjar pujar dítæ/N221

'It has quite ruined the garden of
my peace and repose.'

c) synonymous doublets

A few pairs of synonyms in active use are commonly used together, although there is no phonetic resemblance:

/bol-/ 'speak' + /ala-/ 'speak'

/aslī siræki uvha e jo rohi de vasi lok bulēdin alēdin/Axi

'The real Siraiki is that which the
desert folk speak.'

The conjugation of both elements in a main verbal phrases is possible only in this type of doublet.

More commonly the second member of such doublets is an historical synonym no longer in active use alone:

/khɪl-/ 'laugh' + /hʌs-/ 'laugh' >

/khɪl hʌs ke/ 'laughing'

d) /-'a/ doublets

In these doublets, to which there is no corresponding nominal pattern, the second element adds /-'a/ to the first:

/bʌc-/ 'escape' > /bʌcda bʌcāda/ 'escaping'

/luk-/ 'hide' > /lukda lukāda/ 'hiding'

The forms in /-'a/ are distinguished in the pr. ptc. from the corresponding causatives which have /-'ēda/, thus /bʌcēda/ 'causing to escape.'

A sense of completion is sometimes found in these doublets, especially in a past sense:

/bʌni bʌnai zimin kʌnū mərhum ræh gya/A15

'He remained deprived of the
ready-prepared land.'

/zʌxam chut chuta gæ/N123

'Her wounds healed up (com-
pletely).'

7.10 SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES: NOMINAL

Simple phrases of this type consist of a non-finite form of a verb used as a noun, and behave exactly as simple nominal

phrases (6.1). In complex phrases the main element may have distinctively verbal modifiers, such as negative adverbs, or distinctively verbal dependencies, such as the use of subordinate nominal phrases as objects with tr. verbs (8.2), instead of or in addition to the usual modifiers of nouns (6.2).

Four verbal forms are used as the main element in such phrases:

a) infinitive

As the 'verbal noun', this is much the most frequent element in phrases of this type:

/mæde kite għar di cardivari kauñu nikklaq muškal thi gae/V36

'It has become difficult for me to emerge from the confines of the house.'

/għulam nabi hawn għar da avan għat karr diktus/A26

'Għulam Nabi now made less of (a habit of) coming home.'

b) verbal agent (4.8.1)

This derivative of the inf. is also quite commonly used as a noun, although usually without extended modifiers:

/xuđa akħi dītaen, dekha l-ale bavu/

'God has given you eyes to see with.' (lit. 'become see-ers')

c) present ptc.

This is used as a noun only in a few set forms, which do not have verbal modifiers, e.g., /väl-/ 'return' > /välda/ 'answer'.

d) past ptc.

This is more frequently used as a noun than the pr. ptc., but again without verbal modifiers:

/tū ahdē, tā tæda akhya mann ghindā/N141

'If you say so, then I agree with what you say.'

/kaħi kū hila nà, te hilye di hel nà vana/

'Don't get anyone addicted, and don't try to break an addict's addiction.'

7.11 SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES: ADJECTIVAL

These are more frequent and varied than the formally analogous type of nominal phrases. The main element functions as an adjective, either as a modifier of a noun in a complex nominal phrase, or predicatively as a complement (8.2.4). The same verbal forms as those listed above are used as the main element in such phrases, in addition to the gerundive, which requires separate consideration:

a) inf. + /da/

This may be used as a modifier, like nominal phrases + adjectival ppn. (6.2.e), while itself having distinctively verbal dependencies:

/vn̥hā kū mækū bædnam kərləŋ da cən̥a mloka hñath a gya/V35

'They found a good opportunity
of defaming me.'

A common idiom involves the predicative use of inf. + /da/:

/mæ tā ikū bhira nə sədəŋ da/A78

'I'm not prepared to call him
'brother'.'

b) verbal agent

This could be analysed as a specialized type of nominal phrase + adjectival ppn., i.e., as inf. + /vala/, analogous with inf. + /da/. Used as a modifier the verbal agent sometimes has a gerundive sense:

/pərħan vali kītab/

'a book worth reading'

When used with verbal dependencies it may correspond to the transform of a relative clause:

/təmaša dekhən ale ġvndya kū e tħik nə laga/

'This did not seem right to the
ruffians watching the spectacle.'

But its most frequent use is predicative, as a future ptc.:

/ajkäl mæda imtħan thivñan vala he/N112

'My exam is about to take place
now.'

c) present ptc.

This is most commonly used predicatively:

/vn̥hā kū khedda dekh te/N65 'having seen them playing'

d) past ptc.

This too is most commonly used predicatively:

/əxtar kū aya dekh te/N356	'having seen that Akhtar had come'
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The predicative use of the perfective ptc. (4.11.2) with the aux. is particularly common:

/ūdi šadi thai hui e/N73	'Has his marriage taken place ?'
/phul thirṛya hoyā ha/	'The flower was in full bloom.'

7.11.1 Gerundive phrases

The gerundive (4.8.2) is a verbal adjective normally carefully distinguished from the inf. As a modifier the ger. has an adjectival sense, but is restricted to a few set items:

/nīmāk khavṇa nāokar/	'faithful (lit. salt-eating)' servant'
/khilnā hasnā yadā/N114	'happy memories'

(Only synonymous doublets (7.9.c) would be employed in this way.)

The ger. is, however, most commonly used predicatively, in several types of phrase. Some of these are so frequent that they might be considered modal compounds, were it not for the special rules of concord which they entail (8.3.3-4). These make it more satisfactory to treat them separately:

a) ger. + aux. 'must do, is to do'

The logical subject is always obl.:

/tusā ḥakṭar sāhīb kū mīlñæ/N135

'You must meet the doctor.'

/gadi rat de ḥādhai vāje ravalpindī pujna ha/N120

'The train was to reach Rawalpindi at 2.30 a.m.'

/pār bal nā bāhīr avṇa ha, te nā aya/N99
--

'But the child was not going to come out, and didn't.'

Especially with the neg./nhī ~ nī/, the ger. is sometimes used alone as a forceful command:

/nhī vāñña/	'Don't go !'
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- b) ger. + /'cʌhida/ + aux. 'ought to do'

The logical subject is always obl. + /kū/:

- /tækū ayn̩ cʌhida ha/ 'You ought to have gone.'

This is much less frequent: /'cʌhida/, inflected as a black adjective, is probably a loan from P, vs. the regular passive pr. ptc./cʌ'hida/' 'wanted' < /cʌh-/ 'want'.

- c) ger. + /po-/ 'have to do'

The logical subject again has /kū/:

- /i niki kū tækū palna posī/N12 'You will have to bring up this little girl.'

These phrases are quite common, and quite different in meaning from modal compounds of inf. + /po-/(7.8.b).

- d) ger. + aux. 'no sooner than'

In these phrases, unlike the more frequent type a), the subject is dir.:

- /mædi bimari di xablar għar paōħċen ħai/V35

'No sooner had the news of my illness reached home than...'

The inf. may also be used in the same sense, but then the subject is obl. + /da/:

- /i murat da chaprən ha/V59 'No sooner had this picture been printed than...'

- e) ger. + /de-/ 'give to be done'

This is in contrast to the specialized use of /de-/ as 'let' in modal compounds with the inf. (7.8.a):

- /dhobi kū t̪ai dhovni de/ 'Give the tie to the washerman to be washed.'

- /dhobi kū t̪ai dhovn̩ de/ 'Let the washerman wash the tie.'

Occasionally the ger. is used in a similar sense before other verbs:

- /ukū tharha rakh te/N6 'having put it down to cool'

7.12 SUBORDINATE VERBAL PHRASES: ADVERBIAL

These phrases modify main verbal phrases only, not adjectives. Main elements, which may have verbal modifiers, are similar to

those in other types of subordinate verbal phrase:

a) conjunctive ptc.

The conjunctive ptc. is quite frequently used adverbially, although there is no formal distinction from its use in conjunctive sequences (7.4.3):

/ūdīā ḥkhī ū galh kū khol te bran kar dīta/N161

'Her eyes openly explained that (thing).'

b) inf.

This is mostly used with verbs of movement, implying purpose:

/mædi hīk muler mækū hostal ic milan ai/35

'A cousin of mine came to see me in the hostel.'

/ukū thaplañ bæh gai/N57

'She sat down to stroke her.'

But the ger. is used in this sense with /de-/(7.11.1.e).

The inf., although uninflected, is to be regarded as obl., parallel with inflected obl. nouns in such sentences as /o laie gea/ 'He went to Leah.'

c) inf. + ppn.

The meaning of the phrase is determined by the ppn. Two of the commonest are:

/valdañ de milan nal mædi
halat kujh thik thi gai/V35

'As soon as my parents came to see me (also 'because they came'), I got a little better.'

/lahan seti tar de mutalik. kadırbañş saval kita/N326

'As soon as he got off, Qadirbakhsh asked about the telegram.'

d) present ptc.

Like other adjectives, this is freely used to modify the verb, in concord with the subject:

/o rōdi uṭhi/

'She got up crying.'

The ptc. is frequently reiterated to stress the duration of the action:

/xat likhda likhda mæ thak gya/

'I got tired writing letters.'

/khāda khāda o dhæ pya/

'While eating he fell down.'

e) pr. adverbial ptc. (4.10.1)

This may be used to imply a more direct causal connexion with the action of the main verb:

/khādyē khādyē o bīmar thi gya/

'While eating he fell ill (as a result).'

But the adverbial ptc. is used when there is no subject in dir., without any difference in meaning from the pr. ptc. The adverbial ptc. may be reiterated, or followed by /hoyā ~ hoē/(4.11.2):

/īda pāta kāredyā der vi kāna lāgsi/N133

'Nor will it take long to find out about it.'

/pāta nī kia bākdyē bākdyē nindr a geus/A66

'He was overcome by sleep, talking heaven knows what nonsense.'

/gaman māriam nal bāhdyā hoyā akhya/N62

'Gaman, sitting down with Mariam, said.'

The pr. adverbial ptc. is also used idiomatically with the emphatic particles /i vi/ in adverbial phrases with special senses:

/pas thīdyā i o šāhar calya gya/

'As soon as he passed he left for town.'

/īnhā ala xubrā de hōdē hoē vi/

'in spite of these lofty virtues'

f) past adverbial ptc. (4.11.1)

The past adverbial ptc., which may be followed by the perfective /hoyā ~ hoē/, is used to the exclusion of the past ptc. in adverbial phrases, but is less common than the pr. adverbial ptc.:

/ukū īthā ayā hoyā aj pāndrvhā dīh ha/N50

'To-day it was a fortnight since he'd come.'

By far the most frequent use of the ptc. is with the 'pre-post-positions' /bāgær ~ bīn ~ mutū/ 'without' (2.7.2.d):

/pri do bāgær dīthyā/N104 'without glancing at his father'

/bīn soce sāmjhe/N292 'without thinking'

CHAPTER 8

THE SENTENCE

8.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

A simple sentence must normally contain a main verbal phrase (7. 1), and is thus distinguished from such utterances as interjections (3. 7) or vocative nominal phrases (6. 2. d). Other utterances, such as /kūf/ 'Why?' or /bíkvl/ 'Quite!', are to be regarded as abbreviated simple sentences in which the missing main verbal phrase (symbol: V) could be supplied from the context of the utterance.

Some types of question and command may consist of V only:

V /julū/ 'Shall we go?'

V /julo/ 'Go!'

But most types of simple sentence also contain at least one main nominal phrase (8. 2), which may be of various types: often more than one type occurs within a simple sentence. The types of main nominal phrase used affect the pattern of concord within the sentence (8. 3). Simple sentences may be further expanded by adverbial phrases modifying V (8. 4). Pronominal elements in main nominal phrases and adverbial phrases may also be realized in V as suffixes (8. 5).

Besides the changes of intonation possible in speech (8. 6), the sense of simple sentences may also be modified by changes in the usual order of elements and by the use of the emphatic particles (8. 7).

Simple sentences may be combined to form clauses in compound sentences (8. 8), while the choice of sentence-patterns, whether simple or compound, is determined by the overall style of the utterance (8. 9).

8.2 MAIN NOMINAL PHRASES

Main nominal phrases are defined by their function in the sentence as subjects, direct objects, oblique objects and complements: each type corresponds to certain formal patterns. The choice of possible elements in a given sentence is determined by the main verb in V. The order in which different types are arranged within the sentence is quite well determined in formal speech and writing. All nominal phrases normally precede V.

Subordinate nominal phrases occur either as dependent elements within main nominal phrases when the main element in the latter is a non-finite verbal form (7.10), or as adverbial phrases (8.3).

8.2.1 Subjects

The subject is the element next in frequency and importance to V in the sentence. The subject normally precedes V, and is typically a main nominal phrase whose main element is dir. (symbol: S):

S — V /o gea/ 'He went.'

But when the main conjugated element in V is the past ptc. of a tr. verb, the 'ergative construction' (8.3.3) applies and the subject is a main nominal phrase whose main element is obl. (symbol: E):

E — V /ū akhya/ 'He said.'

E also occurs to the exclusion of S in sentences involving the use of ger. + aux. (7.11.1.a):

E — V /mæ vññæ/ 'I must go.'

The ppn. /ne/ is occasionally used as a marker of E in imitation of UP usage: this is quite frequent in educated colloquial speech but is considered incorrect in careful speech and writing.

8.2.2 Direct objects

The direct object (symbol: D) is a main nominal phrase whose main element is dir., and is thus formally identical with S. D can occur only when the main verb of V is tr., and is normally placed between S/E and V:

S — D — V /asā amb khasū/ 'We shall eat mangoes.'

E — D — V /asā amb khade/ 'We ate mangoes.'

D — V /amb khao/ 'Eat mangoes!'

D normally corresponds to the English 'direct object': but nominal conjunct verbs (7.2) in which the pre-verbal is a noun and the verb is tr. may be regarded as special cases of D — V, in which the main element of V is predictable from that of D:

E — D — V /chohar javab ditta/ 'The boy answered (lit. 'gave an answer')

More than one D can occur in a sentence if this analysis of tr. nominal conjunct verbs is adopted:

S — D — D — V /mulazim khavan pivan da s̄aman ... taksim vade karēde han/N166

'The servants were dividing the food and drink.'

Normally, however, only one D occurs as a main element in a sentence, although a main nominal phrase whose main element is a non-finite verbal form may have a D subordinate to it.

8.2.3 Oblique objects

The oblique object is a main nominal phrase whose principal element is typically obl. + /kū/, or a pronoun in d-ac., ending in /-kū/. The oblique object (symbol: O) is much more varied in function than D. While /kū/ may be glossed as 'to', it seldom corresponds to English 'to' as a marker of O.

a) O with tr. verbs

When the main element of V is a tr. verb, O in the pattern S/E — D — V usually corresponds to the English 'direct object':

S — O — V/o bhira te ma kū bhul *gya*/A31

'He forgot his brother and mother.'

Some tr. verbs prefer O as 'direct object', others D. The choice of D or O is also determined by the nature of the object, animates, especially names, usually appearing as O. When pronouns refer to animates, O is regularly used to the exclusion of D:

E — O — V/chohir ikū dītha/ 'The girl saw him.'

E — D — V/chohir e dītha/ 'The girl saw this.'

A few common tr. verbs regularly mark O with /kānū ~ kolū/, lit. 'from':

E — O — V/xudabāšk bhira kānū puchya/A4

'Khudabakhsh asked his brother.'

Normally only one O occurs as a main element in a sentence, although a main nominal phrase whose main element is a non-finite verbal form may have an O subordinate to it.

b) O and D with tr. verbs

Certain tr. verbs may have both O and D. The order of elements will normally be S/E — O — D — V. O here corresponds to the English 'indirect object', D to the 'direct object':

E — O — D — V /xudabāšk bhira kū kāpre ghm dīte/A8

'Khudabakhsh bought and gave his brother clothes.'

Most causatives regularly mark O with /kānū ~ kolū/:

E — O — D — V /ū māde kolū pāñjabi bhulva dīti e/

'He has made me forget Panjabi.'

c) O with intr. verbs

When the main verb of V is intr., D cannot occur, and O usually corresponds to the English 'subject':

S — O — V /*mariam* di yad ukū visir gai h̄ai/N108

'He had forgotten the memory of
Mariam.'

The order O — S — V is frequent in such cases, reflecting the logical significance of O:

O — S — V /*nhakū s̄iræki nhī*
ādi/

'They do not know Siraiki.'

/ukū t̄aksi mil gai/ 'He got a taxi.'

O occurs commonly only with certain intr. verbs, or other intr. verbs used in particular ways, as in the last examples; but compare the use of possessive adverbial phrases with the auxiliary (8.4.1).

8.2.4 Complements

Complements (symbol: C) are main nominal phrases whose main element is dir.: they are thus formally similar to S or D, as well as to some uses of adjectives in adverbial phrases (6.4.b). Unlike S or D, however, they do not determine the concord of V (8.3). Complements occur in three types of sentence:

a) S — C — V

This pattern is normal when the main verb in V is intr., and includes the very common sub-type having aux. as V:

/amri t̄akrī vadi e/A28

'Mother's quite strong (for her age)'.

/o v̄kil b̄an gya/

'He became a lawyer.'

/p̄poš khula te mazbut hōda
ha/J27

'His slippers used to be open and strong.'

C — V may form a single word if V is a short form of pr. aux. (4.15.2):

/chorhī cañiæn/

'The girls are good.'

b) S/E — O — C — V

This pattern is normal when the main verb in V is tr.:

/o mækū pagal pya
b̄anēdæ/N35

'He is making me mad.'

/ū unhakū khedda dītha/

'He saw them playing.'

S/E may be omitted, but the order of elements is undisturbed as
O — C — V:

/mækū moyā sʌmjho/A49 'Think me dead!'

c) gerundive phrases (7.11.1)

In its two commonest uses the ger. forms C in distinctive patterns:

E — C — V/tæ vʌn̩a ha/ 'You should have gone.'

O — C — V/tækū vʌn̩a posɪ/ 'You will have to go.'

In the latter case O represents the logical subject (8.2.3.c)

8.3 CONCORD

Concord is usually determined by S. When there is no S, the concord of V is determined by D. When there is no S or D, V is conventionally m. sg.

8.3.1 S — V concord

This is the most usual pattern and prevails in all sentences other than those having the past ptc. of a tr. verb in V or a gerundive phrase in C:

/tū/ ūda xial rʌkh/ '(You) think of this.'

/ʌsā multan gæ/ 'We went to Multan.'

/mæ tækū hik nʊsxa pʌthesā/ 'I will send you one copy.'

Where S is a linked nominal phrase (6.6), V will normally be m. pl.: but if both nouns are f., or the last is f. pl., V will normally be f. pl.

8.3.2 Honorific concord

2pl./tʊsā/ is commonly used for sg. subjects of address to denote respect, as opposed to 2sg./tū/, used to denote intimacy or disrespect. /tʊsā/, used as a pronoun of respect to one woman, may have 2pl. mas. verb, as in P.

Third person subjects, whatever their gender or number, may have m. pl. verb to denote respect: adjectival elements in C, which regularly show concord with S in S — C — V, will also be m. pl.:

/o bʌhū cʌhe řair hʌn/ 'He was a very good poet.'

Additional respect is conveyed by the use of /ap/ as 3pl. personal pronoun:

/ap behad diler hæn/J28 'He (the saint) was extremely brave.'

8.3.3 D — V concord ('ergative construction')

When V has as its main conjugated element the past ptc. of a tr. verb, E occurs to the exclusion of S, and V is in concord with D. This pattern is sometimes termed the 'ergative construction':

/chohir amb khade/ 'The girl ate mangoes.'

/ū tuhakū kitab diti/ 'He gave you a book.'

Tr. verbs may be defined as either verbs which imply E when used in the past ptc., or verbs which imply an object, whether D or O. The correspondence between these classes is almost complete, but for a few verbs:

a) verbs having E, but not D/O

These include /hʌhg-/ 'defecate' and /mutr-/ 'urinate':

E — V /ū mutrya/ 'He urinated.'

b) verbs having S and O

These include /bhul-/ 'forget' and /mɪl-/ 'meet':

S — O — V /tʊsā unhā kū mɪlye have/ N214

'Did you meet him?'

Verbs regularly having S and D are less common, but /lʌhgh-/ 'pass through' may be so used:

S — D — V /nazu kamre da dərvaza lʌnghi/ N109

'Nazu passed through the door of the room.'

c) verbs having S vs. E — D

These include /ala- bol-/ 'speak', /gā-/ 'sing' and /sʌmʌjh-/ 'understand', all of which have E with D, otherwise S, when used in the past ptc.:

S — V /o gāvya/ 'He sang.'

E — D — V /ū bʌhū sare gāvʌn̩
gāvye/ 'He sang lots of songs.'

/ala-/ 'speak' is exceptional in that the irregular past ptc. /alana/ is used only with S, the regular /alaya/ only with E.

When the verb in gerundive phrases is tr. and has D, both the ger. and V are in concord with this subordinate D:

E — D---ger. — V /ū kitab lɪkhni hʌi/

'He was to write a book.'

O — D---ger. — V /ukū bʌhū sare xat lɪkhne posin/

'He will have to write lots of letters.'

8.3.4 Absence of concord

There is no concord in sentences which have E but no O, and the main verb in V is mas. sg.:

E — V /asā akhya/ 'We said.'

E — C — V /asā vññæ/ 'We must go.'

There is no concord between O and C or V, which will both be mas. sg.:

E — O — C — V /asā ukū khedda dñtha/

'We saw her playing.'

E — O---ger. — V /asā ukū mñlnæ/

'We must meet her.'

O- -O- -ger. — V /i nki kū tækū palna pos/N12

'You will have to bring up this little girl.'

More than one O can occur only in sentences of the last type.

8.4 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Adverbial phrases are of very varied formal types (6.4; 7.12), and of extremely frequent occurrence. More than one adverbial phrase (symbol: A) is commonly employed in a single sentence, and the most usual position for such phrases is before V:

E — O---A---A — V /gaman pñkhe kū tikhe tkhe bhuvñdyā hoyā akhya/N59

'Rapidly waving the waving the fan, Gaman said.'

Interrogative adverbs and adverbial phrases regularly occur before V (8.6.2).

It is, however, impossible to establish a simple set of rules for the ordering of adverbial phrases in a sentence, although it may be observed that temporal adverbial phrases usually precede those denoting place or manner:

A — S — A---A — A — V /thore thore vñkfe de bad xlovnak cik fñzä vic gñjñ de bad rat de ñndhare vic gæb thi vædi/N99

'At short intervals, a terrible cry, after echoing in the atmosphere, would disappear into the darkness of the night.'

8.4.1 Possessive adverbial phrases

These are a special type of adverbial phrase, in which the main element is a noun or pronoun followed by /kū/ or /kol ~ kolū/. When used with an aux. as V, these phrases, which often precede all other elements, indicate possession:

A — S — V /nhakū chuti hosi/ 'He will have a holiday.'

/daktar kū kui pata
kænhī/ 'The doctor has no idea.'

S — A — V /ida javab māe kol
kænhī/N297 'I have no answer to that.'

Possession may also be indicated by the aux. and possessive modifiers with S:

S — V /tuhade kitle bhira
in/ 'How many brothers have you?'

8.5 MAIN VERBAL PHRASES + SUFFIXES

All the sentence types so far described require only minor modifications to conform with P rules, and but slightly more adjustments to agree with U: but the use of a verb + suf. in a main verbal phrase is a possibility not open in standard P or U, although it is also available in western varieties of P, in the Northern Lahnda dialects and in Si.

In all varieties of Siraiki verbs + suf. may equally, if less idiomatically, be expressed by the use of verbs without suf. and of pronouns elsewhere in the sentence: in the modern educated language the latter alternative is in fact often preferred, doubtless by analogy with U P. Verbs + suf. can therefore be regarded as a transformational alternative to the use of the corresponding simple verbs and separate pronouns.

Transformational possibilities are governed by the rule that a verb + suf. may be used as an alternative only to sentences in which S, E or O is a personal or demonstrative pronoun, or in which a main nominal phrase is modified by a possessive pronoun, or in which a personal or demonstrative pronoun is used in a possessive adverbial phrase (8.4.1). Suffixes, including those of the third person, normally relate to persons or animates: pronouns as D are therefore not transformed into suf. (8.2.3.a). The use of verb + suf. is also limited by the available repertoire, as listed in Chapter 5, and by the preference for the use of some sets more than others.

In the following summary of possible transformations, a main verbal phrase having as its main element a verb + suf. is symbolized as VS, one with verb + double suf. as VSS.

8.5.1 S — V > VS

This transformation is possible only for the restricted dir. suf. (5.3), and is common only when the verb is intr. and past tense. S is used optionally with VS:

S — A — V > /ʌsā multan gæ/ >

(S) — A — VS /ʌsā multan gyose/

'We went to Multan.'

Rarely VS may consist of conditional II + suf.:

S — V > /mæ ap nʌ ədi/ >

S — VS /mæ ap nʌ ədum/N47

'Had I not come myself.'

8.5.2 E — V > VS

This transformation is extremely frequent. E is not normally separately expressed with VS, since E — VS represents an alternative to E — O — V (8.5.3):

E — V > /ʌsā akhya/ >

VS /ʌkhyose/ 'We said.'

E — D — V > /tū cura patæ/ >

D — VS /cura patæi/V104

'Are you wearing a bracelet?'

E — O — V > /ū saryā kū cata/ >

O — VS /saryā kū catus/N95

'He lifted them all up.'

E — O — D — V > /ū piu kū sare hal sunaya/ >

O — D — VS /piu kū sare hal sunyonis/A61

'He told his father all that had happened.'

While most commonly used with a tr. past ptc., E — V > VS may also occur in association with gerundive phrases:

E — A---C — V > /ū kıdahī vʌñna ha/ >

A---C — VS /kıdahī vʌñna hʌs/N3

'He had to go somewhere.'

8.5.3 O — V > VS

While probably less frequent than the preceding, this transformation can occur with a much wider range of verb forms, including the

8.5.3

stem tenses, aux. and the past of both tr. and intr. verbs:

O - A - V > /ukū zor da mar/ >

A - VS /zor da maris/N65

'Hit him hard!'

S - O - V > /mæ tækū dekhſā/ >

O - VS /mæ dekhſāl/ 'I shall see you.'

O - S - V > /ukū ma te bhen vi yad a geā/ >

S - VS /ma te bhen vi yad a gyonis/N149

'He remembered his mother and sister too.'

The last use is the commonest, and may be compared with the frequent realization of possessive adverbial phrases as verb + suf. (8.5.5).

8.5.4 E - O - V > VSS

Possible forms are restricted and not very much used:

E - O - V > /mæ ukū ditha/ >

VSS /dithomis/ 'I saw him.'

E - O - D - V > /mæ ukū kitab diti/ >

D - VSS /kitab ditomis/

'I gave him a book.'

8.5.5 Possessive pronouns and phrases > VS

Pronouns in possessive adverbial phrases are very frequently realized as aux.+ suf. in VS:

A - S - V > /tækū pata kænhī/ >

S - VS /pata kænivhi/N190

'Haven't you any idea?'

A possessive pronoun as modifier in a main nominal phrase, especially in S, frequently gives rise to VS:

pos. ---S - V > /ūdrā duhē dhiā aīā han/ >

S - VS /duhē dhiā aīā hanis/N241

'Have both his daughters come?'

pos. ---S - V > /ūda dīl kærēda ha/ >

S - VS /dīl kærēda has/N185

'She wanted.' (lit. 'her heart made')

The realization of possessive pronominal modifiers of other phrases is less common, but possible:

E — pos. ---O — V > /mæ ūda khir pitæ/ >

O — VSS /khir pitæmɪs/

'I have drunk his milk.'

8.6 INTONATION

Patterns of intonation vary dialectally, and intonational parameters characterize dialect speakers as effectively as shibboleths of morphology or vocabulary. Thus S, especially in Bahawalpur, is distinguished by rather level patterns of intonation and rapid utterance, corresponding phonologically to the frequent reduction of C unaccented diphthongs to simple vowels in many verbal terminations (1, 4, 4, 15, 2); but the intonation of the trans-Indus area, especially parts of Dera Ghazi Khan, is characterized by marked contours, producing a sing-song effect. The intonation of C, intermediate between these two in quality, is here taken as a standard.

The description of intonation patterns is deliberately restricted to a simple numerical scheme indicating levels of pitch, since its imprecision permits general statements valid for varieties other than C, i.e., the same kinds of relationship between pitch levels will hold good in these also in given contexts, although the degree to which these levels are acoustically realized will differ.

A tonic syllable is distinguished from its neighbours primarily by length (1.10). Prominence in a sentence is conveyed primarily by a raising of the pitch of a word, most noticeably of its tonic syllable, which is further increased in length only in emphatic contexts (8.7).

8.6.1 Statements

In simple statements, the tonic syllable of the main element in one phrase will be raised in pitch to a higher level than that of surrounding elements, and the tonic syllable of the main element in at least one phrase of secondary prominence will also be raised, but to a less high level. These levels are symbolized as '2' and '1' respectively: they contrast both with each other hierarchically and together against other elements to which no prominence is given. It is typically the first element to which greatest prominence is given:

2 1

/asā roti khadi e/

'We have had a meal.'

This first element will most usually be the subject: elements at the end of most simple statements receive less prominence, hence the

typical contractions of the auxiliary at the end of verbal phrases (4. 15. 2).

Pitch levels can be alternated between elements to conform with the semantic requirements of the context, thus:

1 2
/asā roti khadi e/ 'We have had a meal.'

1 2
/əsə roti khadi e/ 'We have had a meal.'

The sense yielded by these changes in the intonation pattern correspond to a weak emphasis on the words underlined in the English translations. Stronger emphasis is conveyed in other ways (8, 7).

8.6.2 Questions

Questions containing interrogative words and phrases are distinguished in intonation from statements by the higher pitch, symbolized as '3', which is automatically attached to the tonic syllable of the interrogative, the most prominent element in such sentences. The interrogative phrase typically precedes the main verbal phrase:

1 3 2
/tusā roti kerhe vele khadi hāi/

'When did you have a meal?'

Questions without an interrogative word are distinguished from statements only by intonation, typically by an up-glide to the tonic syllable of the main element in the final verbal phrase:

2 1 / 3
/ahməd kʌm kərēda pæ/ 'Is Ahmad working?'

2 1
/Ahmad kam karēda næ/ 'Ahmad is working.'

/kia/ is sometimes employed as an introductory question-marker, but this is probably an imitation of U usage. Questions without an interrogative are, however, distinguished from statements by the very frequent omission of a subject pronoun, thus:

/ 3
/vʌn̩ cʊkve/ 'Has he already gone?'

2 1
/o yāñ culve/ 'He has already gone.'

Questions in which the emphasis is upon the final element, typically a pr. aux., are distinguished by a short realization of the final syllable, without following down-glide:

2	/3	
/Andir he/		'Is he inside?'

/3	
/pīdyo/	'Do you drink?'

But surprise is conveyed by glides up to and down from level 3 on the tonic syllable:

/3	
/pīdyo/	'Ah, so you drink, do you?'

8.7 EMPHASIS

Emphasis may be given to elements in nominal or verbal phrases by reiteration (6.5; 7.4; 7.12), but this frequently conveys other senses as well, such as repetition, distribution or duration. Normally the first element in such reiterated pairs is treated as the most prominent element in the sentence, and the tonic syllable is raised to level 3. Simple emphasis is conveyed by a similar raising of the pitch without reiteration, thus:

2 3 1	
/asā roti khadi e/	'We have had <u>bread</u> to eat.'

A tonic syllable so raised is also lengthened, a peripheral vowel being prolonged and a geminate after a centralized vowel being more fully realized than in unemphatic contexts (1.9.4): this lengthening of the syllable distinguishes the use of level 3 for emphasis from its use in questions.

Emphasis is also given to particular elements in sentences by alteration of the normal word-order and by the use of emphatic particles: both these devices presuppose raised pitch and a lengthened tonic syllable in the word to which they give prominence.

8.7.1 Alteration of word-order

In formal styles the subject and the main verbal phrase are normally fixed as the first and last items of the sentence respectively, and are distinguished in intonation from other elements by raised pitch (8.6.1).

In informal styles, however, this order of items, which has so far been taken as normative, is frequently altered. Such alterations of order, accompanied by changes in the pattern of intonation, give

more prominence to elements moved forward from their 'normal' position, less to those moved back. While the order of phrases is therefore quite fluid in informal styles, the order of words within phrases remains relatively fixed. Thus a simple statement in 'normal' order without emphasis will be patterned as:

2 1 1

/mæ tæde ghər vəl nə asā/ 'I won't come to your house again.'

/vəl/ 'again' may be emphasized by being moved forward:

1 3 2

/mæ vəl tæde ghər nə asā/

The negative /nə/ is more strongly emphasized by a greater displacement:

1 3 2

/mæ nə vəl asā tæde ghər/V106

Still stronger emphasis is given to the negator and to the whole verbal phrase by the displacement of the subject:

3 1 2

/vəl nə asā mæ tæde ghər/

Other examples of alterations of word-order are given below (8.7.2; 8.9).

8.7.2 Emphatic particles

The emphatic particles (3.5) are freely used, especially in informal styles, as enclitics giving prominence to the phrase which they follow. Since the tonic syllable of the main element in a phrase so emphasized is automatically raised in pitch, this is not symbolized in the following catalogue of the particles and their uses: it will be noted from many of the sentences given as examples that alterations of word-order are also commonly involved. A given particle is used once only in a sentence.

a) /i/

/i/ is the commonest of the particles: it emphasizes a preceding phrase more than the simple raising of the pitch, but without normally conveying any additional sense:

/ap_i patæ mi/V105 'I have put it on myself.'

/rʌŋg vʌtavʌn nal i kʌdäh mət chor səgdi e/J59

 'Can death ever be avoided (just)
 by dyeing (the hair)?'

Stronger emphasis is conveyed by the forward displacement of the phrase:

/tū kār i kujh nivhi sagda/A69

'You cannot do anything.'

b) /vi/

/vi/ is also very common, and is frequently used as a simple emphatic:

/koi vi tæda sath na desi/J55 'No one (at all) will assist you.'

/bhīne vi dadhe se/N189 'We are very wet.'

But /vi/ often has the additional sense of 'also' or 'even' (7.12. e):

/tū vi ūrab pivē ha/ 'If only you too drank alcohol.'

/šīše vic apne wjud de nal axtar da wjud vi māhsus kārēdi/N142

'She would feel besides her own presence in the mirror that of Akhtar also.'

c) /jo ~ ju/

/jo/, weakened as /ju/, is distinct from the relative pronoun /jo/ 'who' and the conjunction /jo/ 'that'. Besides emphasis, it often conveys a sense of 'after all':

/thea jo malik/A8 'He is the Lord (after all).'

/dil vale potr de bal jo thyoni/N50

'They are your favourite son's children (after all).'

/tæde kite krīsale jo kāte him/N352

'I've had enough troubles on your account (after all).'

d) /tā ~ tā/

/tā/, weakened as /tā/, is distinct from the conjunction /tā ~ tā/ 'then'. It usually emphasizes the first element in a sentence, sometimes with a sense corresponding to 'well':

/o tā tuhadī nani da ghar e/N94

'(Well,) that is your granny's house.'

/fārhāt da tā dadha ruh ha avān da/N47

'(Well,) Farhat really wanted to come.'

/gai tā vasaL patan hai/A73 '(Well,) she had gone to get up the onions.'

But /tā/ at the end of a sentence has a quite different sense:

/xabardar jo agū te mædi kahī řæ kū hath layo tā/N113

'Mind you don't touch any of my things in future (or else!)'

/tā/ may be used in the same sentence as /vi/, which will mark the more prominent emphasis:

/e tā he vi sac/N307 '(Well), this is true.'

e) /hā/

/hā/ is used only with the imperative, with the sense of 'just':

/mækū socan de hā/N19 '(Just) let me think!'

/kahī vele pae kū bhej hā/N44

'(Just) send your husband some time!'

f) /ca/

/ca/ is commonly used with tr. verbs in main verbal phrases. With tenses other than the imperative /ca/ often implies sudden action, sometimes casual action:

/srdhi tarāh nā dasa ca ū mašin da/N62

'Tell me the name of that machine properly!'

/nazu sir nivaya ca/N158

'Nazu (suddenly) lowered her head.'

/e musibat gal pato ca/N114

'You landed yourself with this misfortune (for no reason).'

/ca/ may precede the main verb, in which case it is the preceding word which will be raised in pitch:

/mūh val plaka ca kitus/N62 'She (quickly) composed her features.'

/ca/ may be used in the same sentence as /tā/ and /vi/, which marks the most prominent emphasis:

/bhane thā vic val vi řæ diti tā hene ca/N152

'Even so, in this broken dish they have given something (for whatever reason).'

/ca/ may also be used with /hā/:

/tū ca dasa hā/A7 '(Just) tell me!'

This /ca/ is to be distinguished from the catenative ptc. of /ca-/ 'pick up':

/nazu kū bahrū ca a hā/N35 '(Just) go and pick up Nazu outside!'

g) /nā ~ koinā/

/nā/, strengthened as /koinā/, is to be distinguished from the negative adverb /nā ~ koinā/ 'not', or /nā ... nā .../ used as a conjunction meaning 'neither ... nor ...'. As an emphatic /nā ~ koinā/ is normally used finally in a sentence, emphasizing the preceding main verbal phrase, and corresponds usually to an English echo question or the French 'n'est-ce pas?':

/utho nā/N153 'Get up, won't you?'

/putr kū parna dītus koinā/ 'He married his son off, didn't he?'

/nā/ is very frequently used in sentences whose first element is emphasized by /tā/, while /vi/ may also be used as well:

/nibhavni tā he nā, axir/N58 'After all, one has to get through it, doesn't one?'

/muhabbat tā šæ vi ejhi he nā/N154

'(Well), love is just like this, isn't it?'

h) /sahi/

/sahi/ is also normally used at the end of sentences, after another particle. /tā sahi/, used with imperatives, is a strong emphatic:

/kujh der baho tā sahi/N169 'Do sit down for a bit then!'

But /vi sahi/, also a strong emphatic, usually has the sense of 'actually':

/nazu kai dafa nuzhat kū akhya vi sahi/N112
'Nazu actually said to Nuzhat several times.'

i) /bhala/

The uninflected emphatic /bhala/, as distinguished from the black adjective /bhala/ 'good', is used in questions implying a

negative answer:

/sakū bhala kvi itraz e/N67 'Should we have any objection?'

/ide vic ūkrie di bhala kerhi galh e/N142

'What (on earth) is there to be thankful for in this?'

/bhala/ may be strengthened as /vi bhala/:

/e vi bhala thi s̄agdæ/N158 'Can this possibly happen?'

j) /thola ~ thora/

Also used in questions, though less frequently than /bhala/, these emphatics convey an ironical sense:

/tū s̄en ūde balā di nukrani tholi hē/N34

'Are you, mistress, the servant of his children?'

/thola ~ thora/ are also adjectives meaning 'a little, few'.

1) /dekhā/

/dekhā/, lit. 'let me see', is often used as an emphatic particle in colloquial speech to convey a sense of doubt or vagueness to the utterance:

/ma mædi dekhā tā mædi tiari nī karvēdi skul di/N94

'(Well,) my mother doesn't get me ready for school (somehow).'

8.8 COMPOUND SENTENCES

In all but the most formal styles, simple sentences are most commonly grouped into larger units of discourse in simple paratactic sequences. Sequences of two or more simple sentences may, however, also be linked in various ways to form clauses in compound sentences.

8.8.1 Simple co-ordination

This is the most usual method of forming compound sentences. The second clause is linked to the first by a co-ordinating conjunction (symbol: +), such as /te/ 'and', /par/ 'but', /ya/ 'or':

/nazu javab dīta, te nuzhat ukū ca te andir lahgh gai/ N96

S D V , + S O - A A V

'Nazu answered, and Nuzhat, picking her up, went inside.'

/mæ ū kū rukēdi rahi, par ū mæde valdæn kū tar de diti/ V35

S O V , + EO D V

'I kept stopping her, but she sent my parents a telegram.'

When the subject of the second clause is the same as that of the first, it is often omitted (symbol: []):

/Akhtar kujh der tāl tæksi di intazar kiti, par naumed thi te perā

E A D V , + [] C - -A A

tur pya/ N140

V

'Akhtar waited some time for a taxi, but losing hope he set off on foot.'

Frequently the subject in the second clause is expressed as a suf. in the verbal phrase:

/nužhat khildyā hoyā bhen kane muafi māhgi, te ukū sara hal

E A O D V , + O D

sunayus/ N77

VS

'Nuzhat laughingly begged her sister's pardon, and told her all about it.'

Each clause may be introduced by pairs of co-ordinating conjunctions (3.6.a). Repetition of identical or similar elements in the second clause is usually avoided:

/hike sigrat pi, hike cah/ 'Either have a cigarette, or some

+ D V , + D []

tea.'

/hik ghar kanū pāre ham, dujha e pārēsanīā/ V35

+ A V , + S []

'In the first place I was far from home, secondly (I had) these worries.'

In informal styles particularly, however, some of the functions of sentence-ordering exercised by conjunctions are assigned to certain emphatic particles. Simple sentences are arranged in paratactic sequence, but connexions between them are indicated by emphatic particles after the first element in each. The use of /vi/,

8.8. 1

in a purely connective sense, and of /tā/, with a slight adversative sense, is particularly common. Emphatic particles are symbolized as *:

/mǣ hñ̄ vñ̄di ã. rōti vi ca vñ̄ñni e khuh te. mækū tā̄ roz da iho

S A V . D * C V A O * S

pñ̄ndh vi bhuni vñ̄dæ./ N57

* V

'I'm going now. (And) I have to take the food to the well too. (But all the same) going out there every day is exhaustingly hot.'

8.8. 2 Simple subordination

Actions subordinate to the action denoted by the main verb are most frequently expressed in all styles by the use of a subordinate verbal phrase as adverbial to the main verbal phrase (7.12).

While subordinate clauses, introduced by a subordinating conjunction (3.6.b), are commonest in formal styles, the simpler types are frequently employed in all contexts. The commonest subordinating conjunctions are /jo/ 'that', /krñ̄jo/ 'because', /tā̄jo/ 'so that' and /nhñ̄ tā̄/ 'otherwise'. The clauses which they introduce normally follow the main clause to which they are subordinate:

/tuhakū mñ̄lum he, jo ãj mǣ kia vaz kñ̄rñ̄n vala hñ̄/ V22

O C V , + A S D - -C V

'Do you know what sermon I am going to preach today?'

/ñ̄ kū hñ̄th nñ̄ lavē, krñ̄jo ñ̄de vñ̄c zñ̄har e/ V23

O D V , + A S V

'Don't touch it, because there is poison in it.'

/thñ̄de vele nñ̄kñ̄l jñ̄lñ̄, nñ̄ ta tñ̄biñ̄a tā̄ bhñ̄n ghñ̄tesim/ N53

A V , + S * V

'Let's go off while it's cool, otherwise the dunes will be burning hot.'

/tā̄jo/ regularly presupposes a clause with verb in pr. subjunctive:

/e kitab binhā kū samjhavān kite likhi gai e, tājo e kām kārān

S O- -A V , + S

vale lok avam kū zuban di asliat samjha sagin/

O D

V

'This book has been written for others, in order that people engaged in this task may be able to explain the real nature of the language to ordinary people.'

Other subordinating conjunctions also presuppose a pr. subjunctive verb, including /jo/ in some uses:

/o vi nā cāhde han, jo māe kalij vic daxla għinā/ V34

S * V , + S A D V

'They too were unwilling that I should be admitted to college.'

But, especially in informal styles, reported statements are more frequently presented as direct speech in parataxis than as subordinate clauses introduced by /jo/.

8.8.3 Parallel clauses

There is a marked fondness in all styles for the parallel ordering of elements in connected clauses. This pattern is applied to several types of subordinate clause, which precede the main clause.

The most frequent of such subordinate clauses are relative clauses, typically introduced by a relative pronoun (symbol: >), which is paralleled in the main clause by an answering demonstrative pronoun (symbol: <). As in clauses introduced by pairs of co-ordinating conjunctions (8.8.1), the repetition of elements in the second clause is usually avoided:

/jerha kujh multan ic pārhda rehā, o uthaī visar ayā/

D > A V , <DA V

'Whatever I was studying in Multan, (that) I have forgotten.'

/jerhi galh vi dardmand dīl kānū nikkle, o apna asar kite bñā

S > * A V , <SD- -A

nhī ræh sagdi/ V63

V

'Whatever issues from a grief-stricken heart, (that) cannot but produce its effect.'

The same type of parallelism is usual in clauses introduced by relative adverbs (3.2):

/ūdi hadrē da karahāg jithā sātēde han, uthahū harkat kar te val
 D A> V , [s] <A D- -A A
 apni mašuka de samhne a vēda ha/ V45

A V

'Wherever they cast its skeleton, it used to come back (from there) again before its beloved.'

The usual answering demonstrative may sometimes be omitted from the main clause:

/jivē jivē dīh guzarde gæ, sadī muhabbatvādhdi rahi/
 A> S V , [s] V
 'As the days passed, (so) our love increased.'

The order of the clauses may also be reversed, with the relative pronoun or adverb introducing a following subordinate clause, like those introduced by a conjunction (8.8.2):

/xoda ū sārak bānavan vale te chā kiti hui e, jerha apna kām
 E A> D V , <S D
 kārēda pae/ V23
 V 'God has bestowed shade upon (that) road-maker, who is doing his work.'

This parallel construction of relative clauses, in either order, with clauses containing a demonstrative is much commoner than the construction of the relative clause as a post-modifier of the noun (as in English):

/haji nusratullah xan səhib, jerhe jo həzrat xaja akil muhammad
 S , <S (+) C
 səhib de xəlifa han, apni akhī nal e manzar dītha ha/ V45
 V , A D V

'Haji Nusratullah Khan, who was the successor of Khwaja Aqil Muhammad, saw this sight with his own eyes.'

/jerhe jo/ has a redundant conjunction as its second element, like U P /jo ke/.

The use of a demonstrative in the main clause to anticipate a relative in a succeeding subordinate clause is also common when the second clause is introduced by a conjunction:

/ū tā har ſair hūanparast hōdæ, par hazrat xuram ī bare kujh

A>* S C V , + S A C

ziada i purjoš han/ V27

* V

'(Of course,) every poet is a
lover of beauty, but Khurram was
rather extreme in this respect.'

/itfak ihojehā thea, jo acacet najma a gai/ N211

S C> V , + A S V

'It turned out (in such a way)
that Najma suddenly arrived.'

Two other very common types of subordinate clauses involving parallel constructions are introduced respectively by /jerhe vele/ 'when' (and its synonyms) and by /je ~ jekar/ 'if'. Such clauses normally precede the main clause, like the most usual type of relative clause, and normally presuppose a main clause introduced by the conjunction /tā/ 'then':

/üde jele mæ afsane sunye, tā mæda sah mukla gya/ V35

D- > E -D V , < S V

'When I heard his stories, (then)
the breath left my body.'

/je tū adō, tā aṣā kāthe julde/

> S VS , < S A V

'If you had come, (then) we
would have gone together.'

In both types the anticipatory marker in the subordinate clause is frequently omitted, especially in informal styles:

/dīthus, tā o makhi hai/ V23 '(When) he looked, (then) it was
VS , < S C V honey.'

/tū navhē āda, tā pāhle dāsaē ha ca/

S V , < A V *

'(If) you weren't coming, (then)
you should have told us first.'

/tā/ is sometimes omitted in favour of the marker in the first clause, but this is less frequent.

In informal styles, again, the use of two clauses without markers in apparent parataxis is frequent in contexts which demand the first clause to be interpreted as logically subordinate to the second. The subordination of the first clause is often indicated by the use of characteristic tenses, principally the pr. subjunctive and the conditionals I and II, and the logical connexion may be indicated by the use of an emphatic particle, usually /tā/, in the main clause:

/tū nā āda, ḥsā tæda intazar tā nā kārū ha/

S V , S D * V

'(If) you hadn't come, we
wouldn't have waited for you.'

/tū mukrī ya nā mukrī, mā ivē ghinsā/ A13

S V + V , S A V

'(Whether) you refuse or not,
I'll take it all the same.'

/Allah kāre nā kāre, tū tā kiti bæthi e/ V107

S V [+V] , S * V

'(Whether) God does so or not,
you (certainly) have!'

8.9 STYLES

It has hitherto been necessary to refer in a rather loose fashion to different styles of language and their implications for the choice of alternative sentence patterns, since styles can only be defined more precisely by the provision of ample samples of connected discourse. Unfortunately, however, an adequate illustration of the range of possible styles, as was originally projected, would have led to an impractical increase in the length and cost of this book, and it has therefore been necessary to curtail the description to brief illustrations of the most important types of style.

8.9.1 Formal styles

Formal styles are normal in most types of abstract writing and in formal public speaking. While formal styles are in fact the least commonly employed overall, they have a special importance as most clearly embodying the kind of language which is looked to as a standard of correctness.

The following sample illustrates the most salient features of the formal style in its written form. These include a strict maintenance of the 'normal' order of phrases in a sentence, with V always last and S usually first, the connexion of sentences by conjunctions, and the expression of many subordinate ideas in complex nominal and adverbial phrases. The free use of the periphrastic passive in V is also typical.

The formal style is naturally heavily influenced by U, the official and standard written language, and the extensive use of abstract nouns and adjectives drawn from Arabic or Persian is a typical imitation of formal U usage. It is, however, to be noted that these are to some extent balanced by the use of distinctively native elements, such as nominal doublets: this too is typical of the formal

style and serves to mark a conscious independence from the obvious model of U. The passage is written in C.

/cərxe di əlamat de samjhən kite ū vele de mvašre kū samhne
 A O -A-
 rakhna posi. e mvašra dur dəraz drā dihatā ic aj vi maojud e,
 -C V . S A A * C V,
 te bavujud madiatpərəsti di rel pel de kai mudat təi zinda rəhsı.
 + A A C V .
 ū zamane nlojavan dhiā kū cərxa kətən cəki pihan te għar de
 A O A-
 kəm kar ic məsruf rakhya vəda ha. xavind kū næb xuda da
 -C V . O S
 dərja dīta vəda həi, te ūdi xuši te rəza ic apni xuši te rəza kū
 V , + A O
 zəm kar dīta vəda ha. ma piu da e fərəz ha, jo dhi dhixxen kū
 V . S > V , + O
 xanadari di tarbiat de nal nal xavind di xidmatdari te
 A D
 itatguzari de sabak devin. phuhar te xanadari tū nəvakif larki
 V . O
 kū sas tane de de ke šərminda karēdi həi, jo ma piu de għarū
 S A C V , + A
 kia sikh ke ai ē. atən hik muštarka thala ya saħħan hōda ha, jithā
 D - -(V) V . S C > V , < A
 verhe drā pərnā kwařiā chorhī te vədiā mil ke cərxa kətēdiā
 S A D V
 hən, te i tarħi seħatmand mukable di faza barkerar
 , + A S C
 rāħdi həi./J44-5
 V

'In order to understand the symbol of the spinning-wheel, it will be necessary to have before one (a picture of) the society of that time. This society exists even to-day in remote villages, and in spite of the onrush of materialism will continue to survive for a considerable period. At that time young girls were kept busy in spinning, grinding and household tasks. The husband was given the

rank of deputy to God, and their happiness and contentment was embraced by his happiness and contentment. It was the duty of parents to instruct their daughters in the lesson of service and obedience to their husband, along with their training in housekeeping. A mother-in-law would put a slatternly and undomesticated girl to shame by tauntingly asking what lesson she had learnt before leaving her parent's home. The spinning-bee was a common yard or area, where the married and unmarried girls of the compound would join with their elders in plying the spinning-wheel, and in this fashion an atmosphere of healthy competition would be maintained.'

8.9.2 Informal styles

Informal styles are both much more frequent in use and, correspondingly, more varied in type than the formal, since different styles characterize different speakers and the various contexts in which they interact. In order to mark the contrast with the formal style of the preceding extract as strongly as possible, a passage of dialogue between two countrywomen has been chosen to illustrate the informal style.

Principal points of contrast are the much shorter sentences and phrases, the freedom of word-order, the general preference for parataxis over subordination, and the extensive use of emphatic particles and verbs + suf. In vocabulary too there is no use of the imperfectly naturalized loans that are so prominent a feature of the formal style.

It must be noted that the passage has been taken from a novel, and the language must be regarded as subject to literary shaping, but it is just as likely that this has been done in the direction of exaggerating the informal features as of diminishing them: for the narrative sentences with which the passage begins, and which recur at intervals, contrast with the dialogue in their closer approximation to the formal style, both in structure and vocabulary. In other contexts, of course, as in the conversation of educated townsmen, different styles between the extremes of formality and informality are possible.

The passage is written in C, with some S forms also.

/kitni cahi adat hodi e zalī vic hakal maran di, te e tā vāstrā da

C V A- -S , + S * C

rivaj e, jo jerhle hitk aorat bæ de ghār væsi, tā thale kane hakal

V, + > S A V , < A O

zārur māresi. bhavē dekh kiū nā ghine, jo ghār vali andir

A V . > V , + S A

bæthi e, par niki suki hakal maran kane nā rahsi.

V , < D- -A V .

'Andir a p̄i, ri bibi, māe zari r̄udhi bǣthi ā.' mariam andrū

A V , ! , S A V . E A

j̄avab d̄ita. 'ari bhǣri, aj̄ tā sara d̄ih mǣde ghar vi nr̄vhē ai.

D V . ! , A * A A * V .

ejha vi kehā kām an p̄i.' mariam andir v̄ardyā hoyā puchya.

S * VS . E A V .

'kra kārā, bheṇa. r̄atoki bhira tǣda e niki ca aæ. sara d̄ih ukū

D V , ! . A S O V . A D-

d̄havavān khavavān te sumhavān vic r̄udhi rǣh ḡai ā.' mariam

-A V . E

apni majburi zæhir kit.

D C- -V .

'māe vi tiar tā s̄aver di thivān p̄i ā, jo vān te niki kū dekh avā,

S * C * V , + (V) O V ,

p̄ar kām kane vād nī mīldi.' v̄asai puršlok nāzrā nal ede ode

+ A S V . E A A

d̄itha. 'kide ḡai e tǣdi dhi.' mariam kane v̄asai puchya.

V . A V S . O E S .

'ede ḡhngotī vic suti p̄i e. d̄upahrā da khir pi te tā suti e. pasa

A A V . D- -(V) * V . D

vi p̄atra nīsi d̄itha.' mariam ḡhngotī vicū nazu kū kādhēdyā hoyā

* VS . E A O- -A

akhya.

V

'ari bismillah.' v̄asai nazu kū ūde hāthā vicū ghindyā hoyā akhya.

! . E O- -A- -A V .

'šala nāzrā nā lagis. eda sonha bal v̄asti vic kāhī da vi kænhī.

! S VS . S A C * V .

alāh kāre, bāxši hui thivi.' v̄asai nazu kū piar d̄edyā hoyā akhya.

S V , C VS . E O- -D- -A V .

'mariam, surme da t̄ika zārur laya kār, koi nāzrā nā mar ghinis.'

! , D A V , S D VS .

v̄asai ūde ġulabi r̄aṅg te p̄atle p̄atle nākš nān kū dekh te akhya.

E O-

-(V) V .

'gindi gindole di kivē kito.' v̄asai val puchya.

D [A] VS . E A V .

/mædi ūadi de bad ma mædi gindia gindole bānēdi rāh ḡai
 A S D V .
 dotriā kite. alah apni aolad tā nā diti. ūde kam āde pān, te cole
 A . E D * V . A V , + D
 dale māe x̄d bānesā.' mariam thore mujhe ala nal galh kit.
 S V . E A D V .

/'piu di vi dīl hīs, ya kena.' v̄asai puchya.

S * VS, + V . E V .

/'o tā, amā, sadke ghole thidæ. r̄atoke ca te aæ, zari aram nisi
 S * , ! C V . A (V) V , D VS
 kita. yaka cati te bætha rāh gæ.' mariam javab dita.
 . A (V) V . E D V .

/'nā kia is.' v̄asai s̄avalia andaz vic puchya.

S C VS. E A V .

/'nazu, piu kū iho nā bhā geus. māe tā kui bea nā rākhā ha.'
 C . O S VS . S * D V .

mariam laparvahi nal javab dita./ N23-25

E A D V

'What a good practice it is when women call out to one another! It is of course a village custom that when one woman goes to another's house she will always be sure to call out from the yard: even though she may see that the woman of the house is in, she will never fail to give some sort of call.'

'Come on in then, dear, I'm rather busy!' Mariam replied from inside. 'You wretch, you haven't come to my house all day to-day. What on earth was it that made you so busy?' Mariam asked as she came in. 'And what could I do, dear? Last night your brother came in with this little girl. I've been busy all day bathing and feeding her and getting her to go to sleep,' Mariam explained how she'd been tied.

'Well I started to get ready early to come and see the baby, but one never gets free of one's work.' Vasai eagerly looked about

here and there. 'Where's she gone, that daughter of yours?' Vasai asked Mariam.

'Here she is, asleep in the cradle. She went off after she'd had her milk at mid-day. Since then she hasn't stirred,' Mariam said as she took Nazu out of the cradle.

'Ah, bismillah!' exclaimed Vasai as she took Nazu from her hands. 'May the evil eye not strike her! No one in the village has got such a lovely baby. God grant you be allowed to keep her!' said Vasai as she kissed Nazu. 'Mariam, be sure to keep marking her with eye-black, then no one will strike her with the evil eye,' said Vasai after looking at her rosy complexion and delicate features. 'How have you managed for bedding and nappies?' Vasai asked next.

'After I got married my mother kept on making quilts and nappies for her granddaughters, but God did not grant me children of my own. Now they're coming in for her, and as for tops and pants, why, I'll make them myself,' Mariam said in rather a sad voice.

'Is her father fond of her too, or not?' Vasai asked.

'As for him, my dear, he's utterly devoted to her. After he came in with her last night he didn't get any rest. He just sat there all the time holding her,' Mariam answered.

'What's her name?' Vasai asked in a questioning tone of voice.

'Nazu. That's the name her father liked. I myself would have given her another name,' Mariam answered carelessly.

8.9.3 Poetic styles

Since most Siraiki literature is in the form of verse, there is a great variety of poetic styles, of which only one is illustrated here, in the form of a short lyric (*kāft*) by Khwaja Farid (1845-1901), the greatest Siraiki poet. The example is, however, typical of nearly all poetic styles in that the choice and arrangement of words is subject to formal patterns of rhyme and metre, in this instance a rhyming line of seven regularly spaced accents with a caesura before the fifth. It is also typical in the freedom of word-order necessitated by these formal patterns, although this does not greatly exceed that which is found in the most informal styles, and in the preference for parataxis.

Other features shared with the informal style illustrated above are the extensive use of verbs + suf., and the almost complete avoidance of loans in favour of native vocabulary, although this includes some rare and obsolete items used for deliberate poetic effect. The use of the infix /-r-/ in /kālhra tedra kalra lāgrum/ is also distinctive of this poetic style. There are other poetic styles, notably those borrowed from U, but including styles used in other poems of Khwaja Farid also, in which none of these features would be present, and which would thus approximate much more closely to the formal style.

The poem is composed in a rather pure form of S.

/mekū kālhṛa chor te	O- -C- A	vēdī kēde sāg.
/kātra māhaz kākes nā ayo,	S VS ,	layo hījār di sāg.
/thāl maru da pāda sara	S	'You felt not a drop of pity, (but) stabbed me with the spear of parting.'
/je tāī nasē de vic sah im,	A S VS,	thisim hik <u>bīlhāg</u> .
/javān la di bīrhū sunayum	A E VS	'The desert's whole expanse will be but a step for me.'
/sādke kite hī nīh kolhū	A	rahsim ted <u>ri</u> tāg.
/choṭe vākt kware vele	A A	'So long as I have breath in my nostrils, longing for you will not leave me.'
		kānē <u>dukhā</u> di bāg.
		'As soon as I was born, love sounded in my ears the call of grief.'
		khavim kalra nāg.
		'Than this love to which I have given myself (it were better that) a black serpent should devour me.'
		lagrum ted <u>ra</u> dāg.
		'When I was young and still a maiden, I was branded with your love.'

/mǣ hā kerhe bağ di muli. kai rul moe mǣ väg.

S V C . S V A .

'What is so special about me?
(lit. 'what garden's radish am I?')
Many have been destroyed like
me and died.'

/ghummargher, farid, kāpar de na tir dīsim, nā tāg./ F68

A ,! , -A + S VS , + S

'In the eddies of this shoal,
Farid, I can see no place to land
nor post to aim for.'

CHAPTER 9

SINDHI SIRAIKI

9.1 DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF SiS

Siraiki has been established for several centuries as an immigrant language in Sind, where it was formerly also an important vehicle for literature.

The Siraiki-speaking groups in Sind, principally Baloch tribes, are of varied geographical origin: owing to their patchwork pattern of settlement there is much geographical blurring of dialectal features which correspond to distinct local areas in the main Siraiki-speaking region to the north. Speakers of C may live alongside speakers of S, and local correlations within Sind are difficult to establish. Both C and S forms are encountered in written SiS.

As would be expected in a situation in which speakers of an immigrant language maintain rather tenuous contact with the inhabitants of the original speech-area, SiS displays some archaic features, and retains forms obsolete in standard CS. There is thus less difference between the modern language and that of the poets of the 18th and 19th centuries: this fact makes it possible to include here a description of some obsolete forms encountered in older CS poetry.

Most Siraiki-speakers in Sind are bilingual in Sindhi. All varieties of SiS, especially the language of educated townspeople, are subject to Si influence, which increases markedly towards the south of the province; and with the present encouragement of the wider use of Si, this influence seems likely to increase further. Si influence is most marked in vocabulary, less in morphology and least in syntax: the common factor of Si influence provides an interesting contrast with the U P influences which predominate in the educated Siraiki of the Panjab.

Admixture of dialects, the retention of forms elsewhere obsolete and the influence of Si account for most of the distinctive features of SiS, although there are a few peculiarities for which none of these explanations seems appropriate. The following account summarizes the salient differences of SiS from CS with reference back to the detailed description of the latter in earlier chapters.

9.2 PHONOLOGY

Differences from CS are few, and are attributable to archaism or to Si influence.

9.2.1 Vowels (1.1-2, 4)

The vocalic system is phonologically and phonetically as in CS. Only in the speech of highly Sindhized speakers is the Si realization of /ʌ/ as /ə/ in all positions followed.

9.2.2 Diphthongs (1.3)

These are as in CS, but original diphthongs now regularly reduced in CS are often retained:

SiS /hai/	'was'	vs.	/[hai]	> CS hʌi/
/hei/	'is to you'		/[hei]	> S hʌi/
/koi/	'someone'		/[koi]	> CS kui/

The distinctive final falling diphthongs of Si, as in /jaɪ/ 'place', /maʊ/ 'mother' or /buɪ/ 'smell', have no regular place in SiS: most speakers follow CS /ja ma bu/.

9.2.3 Consonants (1.6-8)

There are no significant differences from the inventory and phonetics of the CS consonants, which are anyhow very close to Si. The phonemic status of /h ñ/ is enhanced in SiS by loans from Si, e.g., /ʌñə/ 'still, yet' vs. CS /ʌjā ~ ʌjən/.

9.2.4 Combinations of consonants (1.9)

Possible combinations again closely resemble CS, also Si, except that initial clusters with /s-/ in loans may be realized with the characteristic Si prothetic /i-/ , thus /iṣtrit/ 'street'.

The CS clusters /tr dr/ correspond to northern (Sireli) Si /tr dr/ and standard Si /t̪ d̪/. All three realizations are possible in SiS, although the simple retroflex is regularly adopted only by highly Sindhized speakers: thus SiS /cəndr ~ cəndr ~ (cənd)/ 'moon' vs. CS /cəndr/. The retroflex alternatives extend the restricted distribution of /d/ (1.7.a).

9.2.5 Aspiration (1.12)

The complex rules laid down for the distribution and displacement of aspiration in CS generally hold good for SiS also, but there are differences of detail.

a) /ah/ vs. /ah/ (1. 12. 3)

The distinction between the two sequences is retained in SiS:

SiS /lahan/ 'to descend'	CS /lahan/
/lahan/ 'to remove'	/lahan/ > lahan ~ -ahavan~.

SiS often retains the sequences /-ahi- -ahi-/ vs. CS /[-ahi-] ~ -ahi- > -əhi-/.

b) pre-consonantal /h/ (1. 12. 4)

This is often retained in SiS where it is displaced to follow a voiced consonant in CS, thus SiS /kehra/ 'who?' vs. CS /kerha/: here SiS may be influenced by Si /khiro/.

Typical also of much SiS is the final aspiration in many pro-nominal forms, thus SiS /kəh ~ kæ/ 'whom' vs. CS /kæ/ but Si /kəhɪ/.

c) loss of aspiration (1. 12. 6)

Omission of /h/ after an aspirate is common, as in CS. The reverse process, in which the aspirate loses its aspiration before /h/ (Grassmann's law), is characteristic of Si, and more frequent in SiS than in CS, thus SiS /itahɪ/ 'right here' vs. CS /iθahɪ ~ iθai/.

9.2.6 Phonological adjustments in loans (1. 13)

Rules given for the treatment of U and E loans in CS hold good for SiS also, especially the marked tendency at sub-standard levels to realise plosives as fricatives, particularly /k g/ as /χ ɣ/.

The numerous loans from Si in SiS constitute a special case. The phonetic structures of Si and Siraiki are in fact sufficiently similar for rather few adjustments to be required, except in the terminations of nouns and adjectives, where the very short final centralized vowels of Si are dropped by all but highly Sindhi speakers and final peripheral vowels are altered to conform with Siraiki patterns:

Si /gothi/ 'village'	> SiS /goth/	vs. CS /vasti/
/budhənu/ 'to hear'	/budhan/	/sunan/
/bhero/ 'time'	/bhera/	/vara ~ vari/

Si and Siraiki sometimes differ in their realization of recognizably cognate historical pairs, thus in many words Si /-r-/ corresponds to CS /-l-/ and SiS may follow either:

Si /sorəh/ 'sixteen'	> SiS /sorəh ~ soləh/ < CS /soləh/
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Another instance is that of verbs with CS past ptc. /-na/ (9. 5. 5).

9. 2. 7 Script (1. 14)

SiS is normally written in the Sindhi script, a specially modified form of the Arabic script different in both systemic organization and style of writing from that current in the Panjab. It is ideally adapted for the notation of the consonant phonemes of Siraiki, since these are shared with Si: letters for the implosives and nasal consonants are illustrated in the table in 1. 14. Some Si spelling conventions are rather confusing, notably the lack of distinction between final /-n/ and nasalization, or final /-i/ vs. /-e -æ/, and the use of a simple retroflex to write what may also be retroflex/dental + /r/ (9. 2. 4).

9. 3 THE NOUN

9. 3. 1 Gender (2. 1)

A few nouns are assigned definitely to one gender in U P, followed by CS, but to the other in Si, usually followed by SiS, although some speakers may follow CS here too:

		<u>SiS as Si</u>	<u>CS as U P</u>
/afsos/	'regret'	mas.	fem.
/kitab/	'book'	mas.	fem.
/dil/	'heart'	fem.	mas. (fem.)

9. 3. 2 Declensions (2. 4)

Sis follows CS case-endings, including the variant o. pl. /C-ā ~ S -ē/. Nouns of all major declensions may have abl. sg. /-āū/ for CS /-ū/ in some forms of SiS: this termination is commonest in central Sind, where the local Si dialect has /-āū/ vs. standard Si /-ā/.

Mas. nouns follow declensions I and II: as in S, declension III appears not to be found in SiS.

The characteristic Si f. pl. termination /-ū/ does not involve any extension of the restricted declension VI in SiS, probably because /-āū/ is reserved for abl. sg. Both in contemporary SiS and in the language of the older poets there seems to be a greater preference for IV over V than in CS: this may be due to analogy with the general Si f. pl. /-ū/. /Akha/ 'eye' has besides the V pl. /Akhiī/, now general in CS, the irregular IV pl. /Akhiā/ as a common alternative: /Akhiā/, now quite obsolete in CS, is perhaps preserved by analogy with Si /əkhiū/. Apart from the infixing of /-i-/ in such IV pl. forms, by archaism or analogy with Si, morphophonemic adjustments of nouns are as in CS (2. 3. 1).

9.3.3

9.3.3 Adjectives (2.5)

Black adjectives decline as in CS, but with a conservative preference for mas. o. pl. /-yā ~ -yē/ vs. the more usual CS /-e/. 'Unfast' adjectives are of doubtful status in SiS.

9.3.4 Numerals (2.6)

The few differences are directly attributable to Si influence:

1	Si /hikrō/	SiS /hikra ~ hik/	CS /hik/
16	/sorəh/	/sorāh ~ solāh/	/solāh/

Some speakers have /dæh/ 'ten' for CS /dāh/.

9.3.5 Personal pronouns (2.8)

Quite distinctive of SiS are the 1sg. pos./mada/ 'mine' and 2sg. pos./tada/ 'thine': these are of doubtful origin, and are used alongside C /mæda ~ tæda/ and S /meda ~ teda/.

Expanded forms of 1pl. and 2pl. as /ʌsahā tu sahā/, often with d-ac. sense, seem more characteristic of the older poetry than of modern SiS.

Occasional use is made of the Si base /pan-/ for the reflexive pronoun: but this usually follows CS /ap/.

9.3.6 Other pronouns (2.9-12)

The demonstratives often have o. sg. /ih ūh/ with no emphatic sense (besides /i ū/), yielding by metathesis of /h/ pos. sg. /idha ūdha/. The interrogative has o. sg. /kāh ~ kāe/ and the relative /jāeh ~ jāe/: Si influence may be postulated (9.2.5). Expanded pl. forms in /-ahā/, often with d-ac. sense, are apparently obsolete.

The correlative pronoun appears now to be obsolete in SiS, but is extremely frequent in the older poetry.

The indefinite pronoun is very frequently /ko/, f. /ka/, pl. /ke/, as in Si, yielding the common compound pronoun /jeko/, f. /jeka/, pl. /jeke/ 'whoever' vs. CS /jo kvi/.

Of the correlative sets, /eha jeha keha/ vs. CS /kehā/ 'like what?', and /ehra jehra kehra/ vs. CS /kerha/ 'which?', are commonly used items distinctive of SiS.

Other variants from CS, such as /ker/ 'who?', must be regarded as Si loans of doubtful extension.

9.4 PARTICLES

The extensive use of Si loans here distinguishes SiS from CS. Only the most frequently used items are noted.

9.4.1 Adverbs (3.2-4)

Of the correlative sets /rē trē jīrē kīrē/ are used alongside the synonymous CS /kivē/ 'how?', and /jes tālī/ is a common alternative to CS /je tālī/ 'as long as'.

Si also provides /konhī ~ kanhī/ as common alternatives to the CS emphatic negative adverbs /komhī ~ kænhī/: this is to be compared with the SiS indefinite pronouns /ko ka/ (9.3.6). As in Si, it is the mas.-derived /konhī/ which is generalized, vs. the fem.-derived CS /kænhī/.

Other commonly used Si loans include /tāmam/ 'very', besides CS /bāhū/, and /ānā/ 'still', besides CS /ājā ~ ājān/.

9.4.2 Other particles (3.5-7)

Besides the CS emphatic particle /vi/, SiS frequently has /bhi/ and, less commonly, Si /bā/. Modern SiS, though not the older poetry, generalizes Si /tā/ for CS /jo ~ (ke)/ 'that', as well as for CS /tā/, both as conjunction and as emphatic particle. Si /hao/ is used as well as CS /ha/ 'yes'.

9.5 THE VERB

The verbal system of SiS follows that of CS in most details, although a few features have been adopted from Si. Some very common roots agree with Si against CS:

Si > SiS /bodh-/	'hear'	vs.	CS /sun-/
/hāl-/	'go'		/cāl- <u>jul-</u> /
/sagh-/	'be able to'		/sāg- ~ sāng-/
/sth-/	'rise'		/sth-/
/vān-/	'please'		/bhā-/

In a few other instances SiS prefers native roots, partially replaced by loans in CS, thus SiS /āla-/ 'speak' vs. CS /(āla-) ~ bol- / < U P /bol-/.

9.5.1 Derived stems (4.3-6)

Causatives and passives are formed as in CS. Roots in /-ah/, obsolete in CS (9.2.5) are unchanged for pr.-fut., thus SiS pr.-fut. /lah-/ 'remove' vs. CS /lāhe-/ < /lāha-/.

Monosyllabic /a/-roots follow either C or S in pr.-fut. (4.6.4). /a-/ 'come' often has pr.-fut. /āo-/ besides /a-/; and /po-/ 'lie' has /pāo-/ besides /po-/: S /ām- pām-/ do not seem to occur in SiS.

9.5.2 Infinitive and gerundive (4.8)

The endings /-an -na/ appear to be generalized after all stems, as in Si, i.e., there is no alteration to /-an -na/ after roots in /n (r) r rh/.

9.5.3 Catenative and conjunctive participles (4.9)

Disyllabic roots with initial accent may frequently retain unaccented /-a-/ in the catenative ptc., thus /nikal/ vs. CS /nikl/ < /nikal-/ 'go out.' Other catenative participles are formed as in CS, including /thi/ < /th-/ 'rise', like CS /thi/ < /th-. But /po-/ 'lie' has SiS /po ~ pao/ besides CS /pæ/.

Both C /kar ~ ke/ and S /te/ are employed as markers of the conjunctive ptc. in different varieties of SiS. The marker /krahun/, found in some older SiS for the emphatic conjunctive ptc. (vs. CS /krahī/), is of doubtful status.

9.5.4 Present participle (4.10)

The ending /-anda/ is sometimes added to a monosyllabic consonant-stem, by archaism or analogy with Si /-ando/, thus SiS /jananda/ 'knowing', besides CS /janda/.

Si also provides a present perfective ptc. in /-dar/, but this is very rarely used in SiS.

9.5.5 Past participle (4.11-13)

The regular formation of the past ptc. is as in CS. SiS commonly has a perfective ptc. in /-yal/, analogous with that of Si, thus SiS /bharyal/ 'full' (vs. CS /bharya hoyo/), which is uninflected, as a red adjective.

The various forms of the adverbial past ptc. (4.11.1) found in CS are all used in SiS also, as are the variant forms of participles in /-ea/ (4.12). Other irregular past participles (4.13) are mostly as in CS, but there are some common exceptions where SiS follows Si in preference to CS:

/ghm-/ 'take'	Si /gidho/	> SiS /gidha/	vs. CS /ghida/
/bhaj-/ 'run'	/bhago/	/bhaga/	/bhana/
/puj-/ 'arrive'	/pugo/	/puga/	/puna/

Other roots in /-j/ with CS past ptc. /-na/ (4.13.10) may similarly have SiS /-ga/.

9.5.6 Auxiliary verb (4.15)

Both C and S forms of the pr. aux. are employed in SiS, which also has similar contractions of the short forms. In addition to the full forms listed for CS, SiS also has expanded forms with base

/he-/ for all persons other than 1sg. and 3pl. These are probably archaisms, since they are sometimes encountered in older S also:

sg. 2	heī ~ hāī
3	hei ~ hāi
pl. 1	heū ~ hyū
2	heo ~ hyo

The past aux. may follow CS, with /hai ~ hāi/ generalized for 3sg. mas. as well as fem., and with the distinctive SiS 1sg. /hās/ besides CS /hām/. An archaic form of the past aux., now quite obsolete in CS, with base /ah-/ is also sometimes employed:

sg. 1	ahus
2	ahī
3 <u>m.</u>	aha
	pl. 3 <u>m.</u> ahe
<u>f.</u>	ahi
	<u>f.</u> ahīā

These forms are, however, commoner in the older poetry than in most current varieties of SiS. A negative /nahus .../ is also possible.

9.6 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The example of Si, which also has pronominal suffixes, seems to encourage a rather freer use of verbal forms + suf. in SiS than is generally to be observed in comparable varieties of CS.

9.6.1 Inventory

The only addition to the inventory of suffixes found in CS (5.1) is the 1sg. dir. suf. /-s/, a loan from Si used as an alternative to CS /-m/. But CS /-m/ is universal in SiS for the 1sg. obl., avoiding confusion with the very common 3sg. obl. /-s/.

This use of a 1sg. dir. /-s/ may be compared with the distinctive SiS forms of the past aux. /hās ahus/ (9.5.6).

9.6.2 Stem tenses + suffixes (5.2)

SiS has distinctive forms for 3sg. pr. subjunctive and fut. + 2sg. suf.:

3sg. + 2sg. /-i/	SiS /avāi/	vs. CS /avi/
	/asāi/	/asia ~ S asi/

In pr. subjunctive at least, a 3pl. verb is differentiated in SiS:

3pl. + 2sg. /-i/	SiS /avini/	vs. CS /avi/
3pl. + 3sg. /-is/	/avinis/	/avis/

This is exactly parallel with the regular CS differentiation of a pl. verb + 2sg. or 3sg. suf. in the past or with the aux. (5.4-5), thus:

sg. /jithā vññai, uthā vññ mñr/S2

'Go and die wherever you like!'
(lit. 'where it pleases you')

pl. /mede hñth nñ hovini ha/S2

'Had you not had my hands (to support you).'

9.6.3 Past + dir. suffixes (5.3)

The only major difference is the use of 1sg. dir./-s/, thus SiS /ayus ~ ayum/ vs. CS /ayum/ 'I came'. This is to be distinguished from the 3sg. obl. /-s/:

/däh pæ kitus, ala ... mñr geus/S2

'He uttered a groan, 'God! I'm dying!'

Pl. suf., both dir. and obl., may be added to accented /-'a-/ instead of /-'o-/, as in some varieties of CS.

9.6.4 Auxiliary + suffixes (5.5-7)

The variety of possible CS forms is amply represented in SiS also, and the pr. aux. + suf. seems to be more freely used to form present tense + suf. than in CS, thus:

/iha bhi vñdi miñarbani te riæt pya kñrëdñi, jo izat ñbru nal
vññññ pya dëdñi/S3

'This too is a great favour and kindness that I'm doing you, to allow you to go with honour.'

The neg. pr. aux. and neg. pr. aux. + suf. are used as in CS, but /nisi/ is freely employed as an emphatic negative with persons other than 3sg.:

/cvl bhi nñsi sñghda/S2

'I cannot even move.'

3pl. past aux. + 3sg. suf. appears as /hñnis/, besides CS /hanis/.

9.7 SYNTAX

SiS has few peculiarities of syntax, and phrases and sentences are generally organized as in CS. Only a few isolated points of difference from the description of CS syntax in Chapters 6 to 8 are therefore noted here.

9.7.1 Nominal phrases

Modifiers of fem. nouns in obl. pl. are sometimes inflected as mas. obl. sg., following Si:

/vʌdere usman de Akhī vic/S3 'in the eyes of squire Usman'

This corresponds to Si /vədere usman je əkhīən mě/, and is to be distinguished from the occasional imitation of U in CS which involves a f. sg. modifier with a f. pl. noun (6.2.f):

/apni Akhī nal/V45 'with his own eyes'

In both SiS and CS a f. pl. modifier is standard with a f. pl. noun.

9.7.2 Verbal phrases

A few compound phrases are formed differently in SiS.

a) pr. ptc. + /kʌr-/ 'make a habit of doing'

This is similar to the common use of the past ptc. + /kʌr-/ (7.8.2.d):

/rat kū a hvjre vic sumhda kʌr/S2

'Come and sleep in the room at night (regularly)!'

b) ger. + aux.

Whereas in CS the logical subject in this construction (7.11.1.a) is regularly obl. (E), it frequently appears as obl. + /kū/ (O) in Sis:

/tekū apē uvho xial kʌrna ha/S3

'You should have thought of that yourself.'

Here SiS agrees with Si, which regularly marks the logical subject with /khe/, while CS (optionally also SiS) follows P, which regularly marks with /ne/.

c) ger. + /kʌr-/ 'promise to do'

This construction does not appear to be used in CS:

/mʌolu tāge vale kū pañj rupæ devne kite/S1

'Maulu promised to pay the tonga driver five rupees.'

Also noteworthy is the frequent employment of the distinctive SiS perfective ptc. (9.5.5) in adjectival phrases, both as a modifier

and as a complement (7.11.d):

/fuzulxarci te halyal vadera/S3

'the squire who had given himself over to extravagance'

/jiē sabir bahar geal ha/S3 'as if Sabir had gone out'

Unlike the perfective ptc. of CS, it may be reiterated for emphasis:

/bharyal bharyal dīl nal/S3 'with overflowing heart'

9.8 STYLES

The same broad classification of styles as formal, informal or poetic which was established for CS may be applied to SiS also. There is, however, little use of SiS in formal contexts, and much less use now in poetic contexts than formerly: the poetic styles of SiS anyway show few points of difference from the brief description of these styles in CS (8.9.3).

Informal styles therefore assume an importance relatively greater than in CS, and an example of one such style is given in the form of an extract from a short story. Many features noted as characteristic of very informal styles in CS (8.9.2) are present here also, including the preference for short simple sentences in parataxis, and the free use of emphatic particles and of verbal forms + suf. Although there is less attempt to reproduce the freedom of word-order characteristic of most informal spoken styles in the dialogue, there is little approximation to a formal style in the narrative passages either: these patterns could of course be equally exemplified by similar types of writing in CS also.

While the language of the passage is predominantly C, it is distinctively marked as SiS by the use of special SiS forms and of Si loans: these are underlined in transcription.

/məolu hajam di cori thi gai. cor ape ae, ape gæ, par hajam de
 S V . S A V,A V,+ A
 għar kakh nā churyone. hajam ha għarib, so vicara ro dho cup
 D VS . S V C ,+ S (V) V
 kär bætha. uhdi marzi nħħai, tak ko pulis vic firiad karije, par
 . S V ,+ S-A -S V ,+
 goθ valyā akhyos, 'firiad kär, ū ġej koi bila thi povla.' məolu
 E VS , D V ,A S VS . E

vicare mārdyē jīdyē salah māni. kivē kare. 'agū kāndhi pīchū

A D V . A V . S

bah' vala māmla ha. polis de sur tā sujhde hānis, par raj da

V . S * VS , + S

hukām bhi jehi tehi galh nāhlāi. rozi da sāval ha. thive hājam,

* C V . S V . V C

te rāisā da akhan nā māne.

+ D V .

/māolu tāge vale kū pāñj rupae devne kite. rāis gamān xā kū nal

E O - -D - C V . O A

gīdhūs. sīdhe ae thane te. māolu vāñlān nal subedar da nīvir

VS . A V A . S A D - (V)

sālam kita, par subedar koi javab nā dītus, nā val ū gārib de

-D V , + E D VS , + A

akh ca kar dīthūs. krū dekhe, subedar jo thea polis da, sindh

D - (V) VS . A V , S - * V -S , S

īlake di polis da subedar. tholi der kānū pīche subedar sīr cata.

A E D V

māolu kū dīthūs. rār kar akhyūs, 'āre, tū bāeh rāhyō. uthi, vāñ,

O VS . (V) VS , ! , S VS . V , V ,

ūh mēh kū dhāva a.'

O V .

/māolu dākde dākde uthya, subedar di mēh kū dhāvavān cālyā gea.

S A V . O - -A V .

pīchū rāis gamān xā apni jah tū uthya. subedar de kān nal mūh

A S A V . A D

rāla vāñ akhyūs, 'sāī, hājam kū ivē nā dekh. sākhya sāhja hei.

(V) (V) VS , ! , O A V . C V .

bhēnsā kālh fājār kānū pīche sīr kha gya ha, akhe 'tū subedar

S A D V , + S A

sahib kāne rālij jūl.' māeda kujh nā vāñe, sāī. tū jan tādi mārzi.'

(V) V . S V , ! . S V D .

/m^aolu m^eh kū dh^ava b^andar te an b^adha, t^a subedar val r^ar^t kar
 E O (V) A (V)V , + E A (V)
 akhyus, 'are, ghorⁱ t^a aⁿā vⁱ khari e.' m^aolu h^ath b^ad^h akhya,
 VS , ! , S * A V . E D- -(V) V ,
 'saī, tusā t^a m^eh da akhya ha.' / S1
 ! , E * D []V .

Maulu the barber was burgled. The thieves came and went unobserved, leaving nothing in the barber's house. He was a poor man, so helplessly bewailing his fate he kept quiet. He did not want any complaint to be made to the police, but the villagers told him, 'Make a complaint, maybe something will be done for you.' Reluctantly Maulu accepted their advice. What else could he do? It was a case of being between the devil and the deep blue sea. He knew the troubles the police caused, but his employers' order was not something to be disregarded. It was a question of his livelihood. How could he be a barber and not do what the squires said!

Maulu undertook to give the tonga driver five rupees. He took Squire Gaman Khan with him. They went straight to the police station. As soon as he got there, Maulu bowed and greeted the inspector. But the inspector did not answer him, or even look up at the poor man. Why should he? He was an inspector of police, an inspector of police of the province of Sind. After a little the inspector raised his head and looked at Maulu. He bellowed at him, 'Hey you, are you still sitting there? Up you get and don't come back till you've washed that buffalo!'

Hesitantly Maulu got up and went off to wash the inspector's buffalo. Then Squire Gaman Khan got up out of his place and went over to the inspector. Putting his lips to the inspector's ears he said, 'Don't look at the barber like that, sir! There's nothing the matter with him. The bastard's been on at me since yesterday morning, saying 'Come with me to the inspector!' It's nothing to do with me, sir. Anyway, you know your business best.'

When Maulu came back after washing the buffalo and tethering it to its manger, the inspector again bellowed at him, 'Hey you, the mare's still thirsty!' Maulu humbly placed his hands together and said, 'But, sir, you told me to see to the buffalo!'

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ABBREVIATIONS

a) varieties of Siraiki, and other languages

C	Central Siraiki	S	Southern Siraiki
E	English	Si	Sindhi
N	Northern Siraiki	SiS	Sindhi Siraiki
P	Punjabi (Majhi)	U	Urdu

The acute and grave accents in the transcription of P words represent high and low tone respectively.

b) other abbreviations

A	adverbial phrase	neg.	negative
abl.	ablative	O	oblique object
adv.	adverb(ial)	o., obl.	oblique case
asp.	aspirate	pl.	plural
aux.	auxiliary	pos.	possessive
C	complement	ppn.	postposition
D	direct object	pr.	present
d., dir.	direct case	ptc.	participle
d-ac.	dative -accusative	R	regular (past ptc.)
dnl.	directional	S	subject
E	ergative subject	sg.	singular
f., fem.	feminine	suf.	pronominal suffix
fut.	future	tr.	transitive
ger.	gerundive	V	verbal phrase
inf.	infinitive	vd.	voiced
intr.	intransitive	voc.	vocative
lit.	literally	vs.	versus
loc.	locative	VS	verbal phrase + suf.
m., mas.	masculine	VSS	verbal phrase + double suf.

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